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Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB

*To his Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf,
the Museum's gracious patron,
on account of his Jubilee in 1962.*

The Collection of Luristan Bronzes

TURE J. ARNE

In 1925 the Russian professor M. Rostowzeff published a bronze statuette, which he assumed was from Cappadocia in Asia Minor. Some years later (about 1930) similar statuettes and other objects of bronze began to pour in to the antique dealers in Teheran, and it became clear that these bronzes had been found in rifled stone cists with skeletons in the Luristan area in western Iran, south of Hamadan and Nehavand. During my excavations at Shah Tepé in 1933 I was able to purchase in Teheran and Ispahan a number (200–300) of similar bronze objects, a collection that was later added to by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, later His Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf, when travelling in Iran in 1934.

As the graves had not been scientifically excavated, little is known about the conditions in which the various bronzes (and perhaps pottery) were found together and the position they had in the grave. A small number of undamaged Luristan graves appear, however, to have been investigated by the eminent specialists on Iran Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. Erich Schmidt.

A large number of bronzes from Luristan were acquired in the 1930's by various important museums in Europe and America, chiefly

through antique dealers in Paris. Those which found their way to the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm and were later transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet were, however, with few exceptions, bought in Iran. When the grave robbers in Luristan noticed that the demand for bronzes was increasing in Teheran, the destruction of the graves also increased. About eighty "duplicates" were acquired by me for the prehistoric collections of Cambridge University. A few Persian bronzes were purchased direct from dealers in Sweden.

In Teheran the principal dealers were Nejat Suleiman Rabbi and Ibrahim Chenassa, both exceedingly obliging. The former even lent a samovar and a floor-rug for me to use during my excavations out on the steppes.

The bronze objects acquired may be grouped as follows:

- 1) Human statuettes (male and female).
- 2) Animal statuettes, either single, or double in heraldic position, or as bridle mounts or pendant ornaments.
- 3) Weapons, as short swords (daggers), spear-heads, axes, shield-bosses, club-heads, arrow-heads, bronze handles.
- 4) Bridles and other horse trappings.

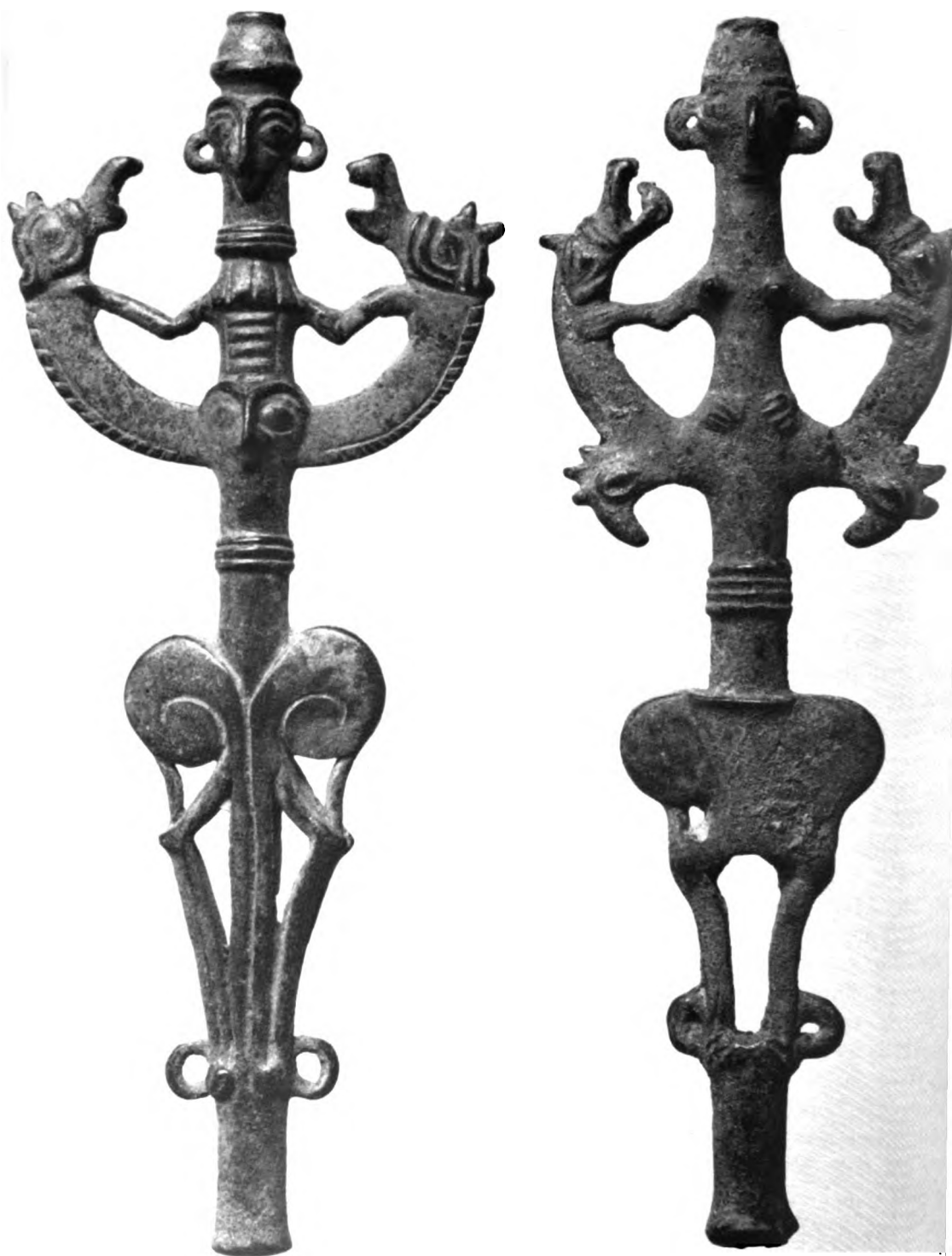


Fig. 1. Gilgamesh statuettes. Slightly enlarged.



Fig. 2. Two-horned figure. 1:1.

Fig. 3. Human figurines. 1:1.

- 5) Personal ornaments, as ear-rings, armlets and bracelets, bells and bronze clappers or pendants, ornamental pins, small bronze wheels, finger-rings, belts.
- 6) Toilet accessories, as mirrors, pins.
- 7) Bronze vessels.
- 8) Bronze spits and other implements.

Among the statuettes the so-called Gilgamesh statuettes hold a special place. They represent a man with a conical cap, who is grasping the necks of two serpents issuing from his waist. From the hips of his body issue two legs, sometimes with tails. Why they have been named after the hero of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, is difficult to say. It is beyond doubt, of course, that a Babylonian cultural influence had been operative among the equestrian people of Luristan. This is proved, for instance, by the cuneiform inscriptions occasionally seen on some of the bronze vessels.

At least eight Gilgamesh statuettes were acquired. Among other human figures may be noted a tubular female figure with hands raised towards the breast, and a figurine in an awkward Chaplin posture. Rather curious



is a two-horned little "imp" with a long nose, bulging eyes and arm-stumps. He was found with a whole lot of others. A female statuette has a centre horn with a loop on the back. Among the animal statuettes we observe a couple of quadrupeds (dogs?) with two heads facing in opposite directions and with a loop between them. Other animal statuettes show

two confronted creatures in heraldic posture. Between them is fixed a hollow rod that was once mounted on a pin-like base. Among the weapons we notice a bronze dagger very similar to a gold dagger found in one of the graves of the kings at Ur in Mesopotamia. A usual type of bronze daggers—short bronze swords—exhibits a flat hilt with raised edges on both



Fig. 4. Animal statuettes. 1:1.



Fig. 5. Animal group (ibexes). 1:1.

sides for wood or bone insets. Furthest down these edges widen into curved rims. Such daggers are dated by means of cuneiform names or for other reasons to the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B. C. The handles are otherwise varied, especially in the case of the part enclosing the blade. Blades of bronze daggers are altogether very numerous in the collection.

A dagger with a vertically pierced pommel probably enclosing an inlay of organic material, is interesting.

Spear-heads occur with and without socket, also loose tubular sockets including one with a "Janus head".

The bronze axes are a chapter by themselves. The Museum has primitive flat axes. An axe of that kind has two protuberances at the middle (lugged axe). Then there are picks with shaft-hole. Some of the shaft-hole axes with an elongated socket are fairly plain. Other bronze axes have a slanting socket with grooves that are prolonged into three or four spike-like

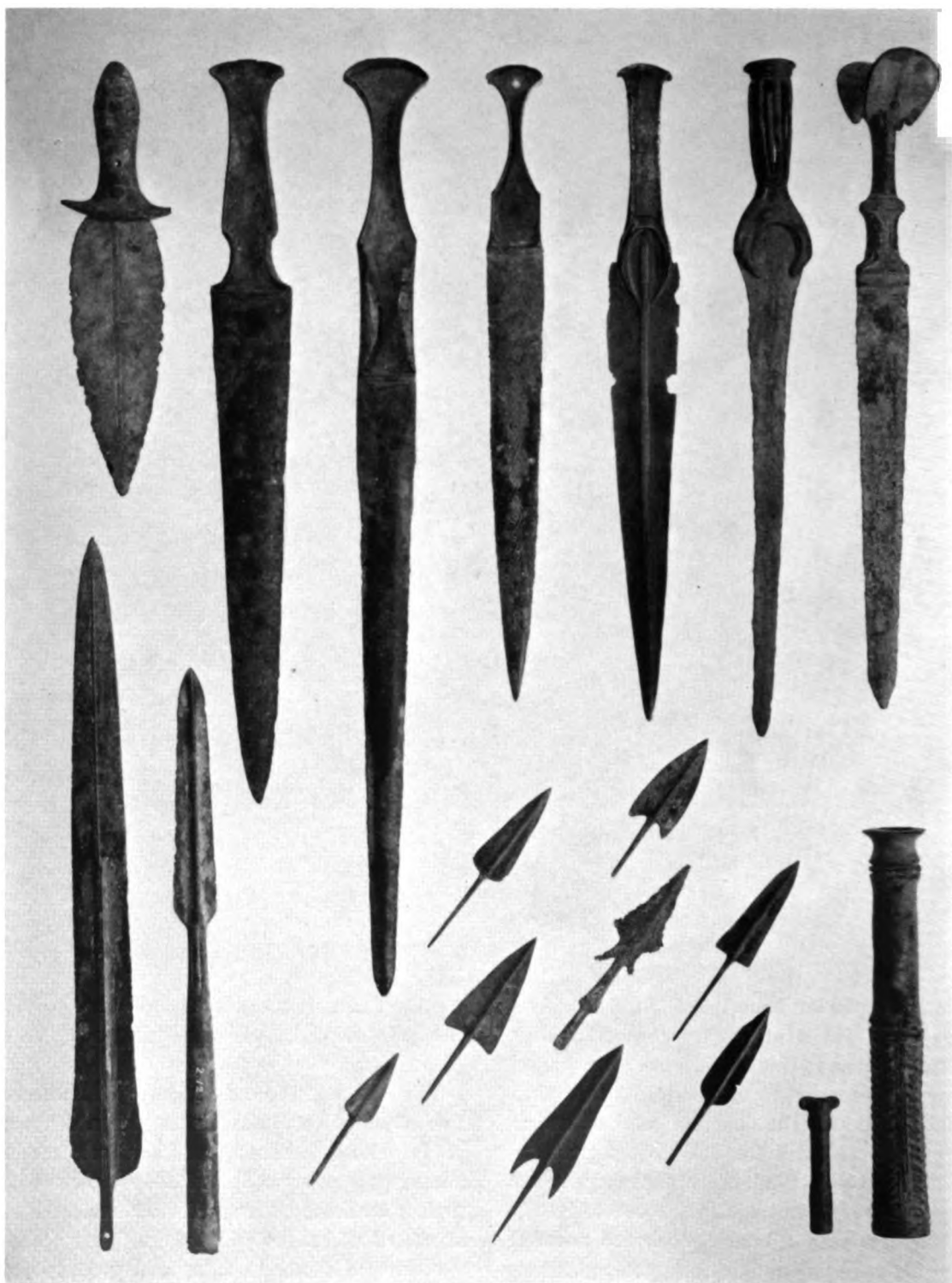


Fig. 6. Daggers, swords, spear-heads, arrow-heads, sockets. C. 1:4.



Fig. 7. Axes, shield-boss, mace-heads. C. 1:4.



Fig. 8. Bridle. Slightly reduced.

projections. A shaft-hole dagger axe is without an elongated socket but has double edges standing at right angles to each other.

Furthermore, we will here mention bronze plates of various kinds (up to 27.6 cm in diameter), probably mounts for shields, and also club-heads and club-handles. Some of the club-heads are tubular and spiked, others rounder.

The bronze bridles are also interesting. They suggest that an equestrian people lived in Luristan. We have, unfortunately, no informa-

tion about the presence of horse skeletons in the graves. A selection of Luristan bridles from different collections has been made by Hanns A. Potratz of Hanover in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Volume 1941–42. It is entitled “Die luristanischen Pferdegebisse”. The Medelhavsmuseet has five specimens, unfortunately only of Potratz’ simplest types with a snaffle of the simplest model; the bridle thus consists of two linked bars, plain or twisted, with rings at the ends and cross-guards, sometimes furnished

with loops. The more elaborate bridles have cheek-plaques in the shape of animal figures with a hole in the middle. We possess a couple of these in the form of horses and pigs.

Among the personal adornments we note solid armlets and bracelets of sheet-bronze, neck-rings, finger-rings, ear-rings and pendant ornaments, belts and belt mounts, bronze

wheels, and pins of various kinds. We have thick, solid bronze rings with ornaments (ankle-ring?, troth ring?), a neck-ring with coiled ends, an armlet of sheet-bronze with pierced ends, rolled spirals, armlets with finials of dogs', horses' or web-footed birds' heads (as well as purely stylized heads), twisted armlets and also an armlet of iron, and a decorated

Figs. 9—10. Cheek-plaques of bridles. 1:1.





Fig. 11. Bells. 1:1.

finger-ring of broad bronze band. The armlet of iron is likely to date from the time immediately preceding the year 1000 B.C.

Belonging to the personal adornments are also small figures of dogs with a loop on the back and ornamental pins with heads in the shape of ducks, poppy-like fruits, round discs, etc.

The ring-shaped ear-rings are sometimes decorated with knobs.

The personal adornments also include the

open-work bells furnished with loops and the small bronze wheels with up to eight spokes.

Finger-rings were also made of bone. The club-heads were made both of bronze and alabaster.

A group of bottle-shaped bronzes with a long neck are assumed to have served as bases or stands for Gilgamesh statuettes.

Our collection further comprises about thirty vessels of sheet-bronze. Three of these are characterized by a long lip extending from the

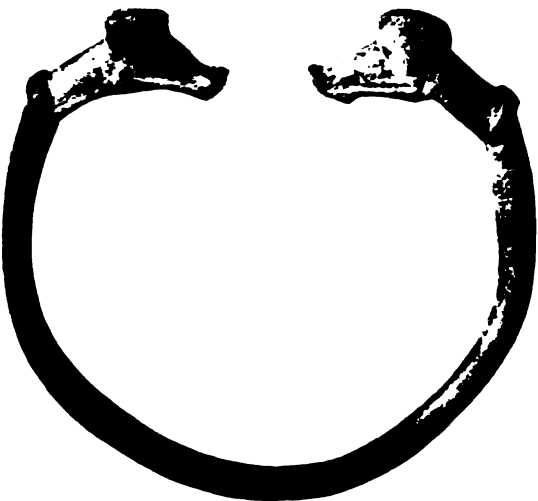


Fig. 12. Bracelet with finials of animals' heads (boar?). Diam. 7.9 cm.

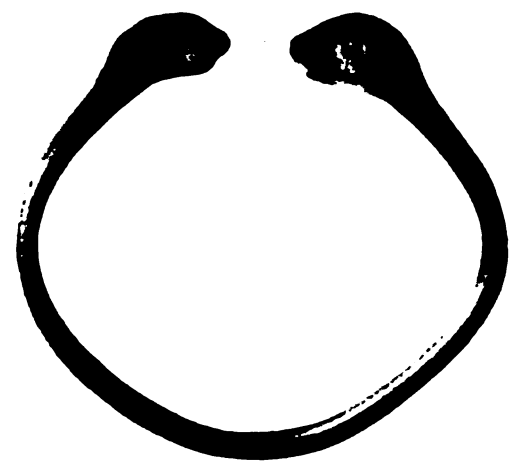


Fig. 13. Bracelet with finials of animals' heads. Diam. 7 cm.



Fig. 14. Bracelet with finials of birds. Diam. 6.3 cm.



Fig. 15. Bronze vessels. Scale 1:3, in the foreground 1:2.

mouth. One of them (from Khakavand) is decorated besides with a ring of convex bubbles around a projecting breast below the lip. In addition, there are half a dozen hemispherical bronze bowls and related bronze pans with handles. Some are decorated. Notable are "cylindrical" drinking-vessels with concave walls and sometimes a handle. A cup with pointed bottom and handle at mouth is less usual. Some of the vases have a projecting sharp rim and above it a cylindrical neck; others are divided at the middle by raised lines, which separate body and neck.

Some of the bowls are, as mentioned, ornamented. It sometimes happens in Iran that genuine bronze vessels are supplied by the antique dealers with figures to make them more desirable. It is annoying when these figures are taken from an art 2,500 years later.

Forms resembling those of the bronze vases occur at the same time also in clay.

In the case of the Luristan bronzes agreement

has not yet been reached as regards either the people to which they belonged or their chronology. The influences from Mesopotamia are obvious from the middle of the third millenium B.C., and armlets with animal head finials correspond with gold rings from Darius' time, c. 500 B.C. The beautiful bronze swords, or daggers, here mentioned, may, it seems, be traced back to c. 1400–1200 B.C. Thus the Luristan bronzes extend over two millenia and show connections with Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, the Caucasus region, south-eastern, central and even northern Europe, and perhaps a link with Far Eastern forms, too. There is doubt as to which people was the bearer of this culture in the Luristan region. The Indo-European Kassites have been suggested. It was they who descended from their habitations in the Zagros mountains in the middle of the 1700's B.C. and later conquered Babylon, where a Kassite dynasty was founded which lasted until 1185 B.C.

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Ägyptische Siegelamulette

STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT

Die gegen vierhundertfünfzig altägyptischen Siegel und Siegelamulette, die im Besitze des Mittelmeermuseums sind, und von denen hier achtzig veröffentlicht werden, haben zum überwiegenden Teil der Sammlung des englischen Obersten Gayer-Anderson Pascha angehört. Für diesen nicht nur zahlenmässig sondern auch vom kulturgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkt her bedeutenden Erwerb, ist das Museum vor allem dem neulich verstorbenen Herbert Rettig zu grossem Dank verpflichtet. Wertvolle Zuschüsse sind der Sammlung ferner durch die schwedischen Grabungen in Abu Ghâlib 1932/34 und 1936/37 zugeführt worden sowie durch die Stiftung von S. Bredberg im Jahre 1951.

Bisher sind nur die Abu Ghâlib-Funde des Mittelmeermuseums publiziert worden¹.

Von den hier vorgelegten Siegelamuletten, die hauptsächlich aus der 6. Dynastie bis zum Anfang des Neuen Reiches datieren, sind etwa die Hälfte Knopfsiegel, die übrigen – bis auf einige sog. „mid-pieces“, d. h. an Halsketten als Amulette getragene Schmuckstücke – sind

Skarabäen oder Sonderformen des Skarabäus, als Skaraboid, Cowroid und Plaque bezeichnet².

Die Siegelamulette sind vorzugsweise aus Steatit und glasiertem gebranntem Ton, einige Knopfsiegel ausserdem aus Serpentin. In vereinzelt Fällen sind Stoffe wie Elfenbein, Karneol, Feldspat, Lapislazuli, Amethyst und Jaspis als Material verwendet worden.

Das aus dem Mittelmeerkreis stammende Knopfsiegel, dessen Blütezeit in Ägypten in die spätere Hälfte des Alten Reiches und in die 1. Zwischenzeit fiel, ist – wie auch aus der Form hervorgeht – als Siegel beabsichtigt gewesen. Der häufig wenig zweckmässige Griff deutet aber darauf hin, dass es vor allem als Amulett gedient hat. Der Griff ist durchbohrt und das Siegel wurde entweder als Zentralperle an einer Halskette oder allein auf eine Schnur aufgezogen getragen.

Die Siegelplatte ist meistens kreisförmig. Knopfsiegel mit viereckiger Platte kommen auch vor, obwohl in bescheidenem Umfang. Die Oberseite (der Griff) ist auch verschieden ausgestaltet. Viele Knopfsiegel haben halbkreis-

¹ LARSEN, Vorbericht über die Schwedischen Grabungen in Abu Ghâlib 1932/34 (MDAIK 6, 1935, S. 61 ff.); Vorbericht ... Abu Ghâlib 1936/37 (MDAIK 10, 1941, S. 14 ff.).

² Vgl. HALL, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc. in the British Museum. London 1913, S. XIV.

förmigen Griff, andere giebel- oder halbovalförmigen. Auf einigen Siegeln hat der Griff die Gestalt eines Menschen- oder eines Tierkörpers³.

Die Darstellung der Siegelfläche ist fast ausnahmslos stark stilisiert. Häufig vorkommende Motive sind menschliche Figuren oder Tiere verschiedener Art. Von den letzterwähnten scheint dabei die Eidechse ein beliebtes Motiv gewesen zu sein. Unter den wiedergegebenen Kreuzmotiven ist vor allem die Swastika von besonderem Interesse; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist dies Motiv von asiatischen Einwanderern nach Ägypten eingeführt worden⁴. Mehrere Knopfsiegel tragen nichtidentifizierbare Darstellungen.

Eine zeitlich genaue Bestimmung lässt sich wegen des Mangels an unmittelbaren Provenienzangaben hier nicht durchführen, was auch für die Skarabäen gilt. Die Datierung muss sich deswegen auf andere Indizien stützen, in erster Linie auf die äussere Form des Siegelamuletts und auf das Motiv, das bisweilen nur während einer mehr oder weniger begrenzten Zeitperiode auftritt. Zu der letzten Gruppe gehört u. a. das Knopfsiegel mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches, eine Form, die nur in der 7. Dynastie vorkommt⁵. Zeitlich begrenzte Motive sind z. B. der Hase und die Eidechse sowie der Pavian und der stilisierte Käfer, welche mit der 6. bzw. der 7. Dynastie aufhören⁶. Das „mid-piece“ hingegen, dessen Herstellung in der 9. Dynastie anfängt, dauert bis an das Ende des Mittleren Reiches, mit Seilschleifenmuster von der 12. Dynastie an⁷.

Mit dem Ausgang der 1. Zwischenzeit verschwindet das Knopfsiegel, um durch den Skarabäus und seine Sonderformen ersetzt zu werden. Schon am Ende des Alten Reiches tritt der Skarabäus auf, aber der nicht gravierten

Unterseite nach zu schliessen, ist er anfänglich nur als Amulett verwendet worden. Er sollte später die Funktion des Knopfsiegels übernehmen, wobei die Unterseite (Siegelfläche) mit Verzierungen und Inschriften versehen wurde.

Wie das Knopfsiegel weist der Skarabäus fast ausnahmslos eine Durchbohrung auf und wurde entweder an einer Halskette getragen oder in einen Fingerring gefasst.

Zu allgemeinerer Anwendung gelangte er erst in der späteren Hälfte des Mittleren Reiches, als auch seine Sonderformen — bis auf den Cowroid, der schon in der 10. Dynastie hergestellt wurde⁸ — zum ersten Male auftreten⁷. Das skarabäenförmige Siegelamulett, das zuerst eine sorgfältige Nachahmung seines lebenden Vorbildes war, erhielt in der 12. Dynastie eine schematisierte Form — eine Erscheinung, die auch während der 2. Zwischenzeit fort dauerte⁸.

Die Siegelfläche zeigt häufig ein aus Spiralen oder Schlingen zusammengesetztes Muster, das entweder die ganze Fläche deckt⁹ oder als Borte einzelne Hieroglyphenzeichen oder Inskriptionen umrahmt¹⁰. Das Spiralmuster, am Anfang des Mittleren Reiches aus der ägäischen Inselwelt nach Ägypten gekommen, und das später auftretende Seilschleifenmuster¹¹, deren Blütezeit in die 12. Dynastie und die 2. Zwischenzeit fiel, weisen in Bezug auf die Komposition eine Fülle von verschiedenartigen Formen auf¹². Im allgemeinen ist die Gravierung sorgfältig ausgeführt, vor allem aber weisen die Siegelamulette der 12. und der 13. Dynastien meisterhaft geschnittene Muster auf. Das Pflanzenmuster, vorzugsweise mit dem Lotus als Hauptmotiv, ist bis in die 18. Dynastie

³ Vgl. PBDS, S. 9.

⁷ Das „mid-piece“, das auf die 9. Dynastie zurückgeht, hört in derselben Zeit auf.

⁸ Zu den verschiedenen Formen vgl. HALL, a. a. O., S. XXX ff.

⁹ Nr. 44, 46–54.

¹⁰ Nr. 45, 55 bzw. Nr. 42, 43. Die letzteren gehören den sog. „nr“-Typ an (vgl. STOCK, Ägyptologische Forschungen 12, 1955, S. 23 f.).

¹¹ Nr. 37.

¹² Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, 8.

³ Nr. 18, Isis mit dem Horuskind; Nr. 14 u. 20, Frosch; Nr. 8, 24 u. 34, Nilpferd(?). Für andere Formen vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1.

⁴ Vgl. Nr. 32, Anm.

⁵ Vgl. PBDS.

hinein sehr geschätzt gewesen und erscheint in zahlreichen Variationen, bisweilen in Verbindung mit Hieroglyphenzeichen¹³. Skarabäen mit Tierdarstellungen sind auch häufig. Dieses Motiv ist vor allem in der 2. Zwischenzeit in Mode gewesen, u. a. mit Tieren, wie dem Löwen, dem Krokodil, der Gazelle und dem Uräus als beliebte Objekte. Sie sind – manchmal in tadelloser Ausführung – allein oder paarweise dargestellt. Der Löwe erscheint oft mit dem Uräus, der letztere (als Zentralfigur) mit hieroglyphischen Zeichen¹⁴. Auf Skarabäen mit zwei Tieren sind diese, wenn es sich um dasselbe Tier handelt, symmetrisch abgebildet, umgekehrt einander gegenübergestellt¹⁵.

Über die Herkunft der hier vorgelegten Siegelamulette ist wenig bekannt. Nur in vereinzelten Fällen ist der Erwerbsort von dem früheren Besitzer mitgeteilt worden, häufig aber hat er sich für eine ganze Gruppe damit begnügt, mehrere Orte anzugeben, ohne die verschiedenen Erwerbungen zu spezifizieren.

1. Siegelamulett aus Elfenbein. Griff weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14949.

Grösse: D. 21 mm.; H. 4 mm.

Siegelfläche: menschliche Figur mit über den Kopf gebogenen Armen und stark aufgezogenen Beinen¹⁶.

Altes Reich.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 11, Nr. 56–58.

2. Siegelamulett aus grünlichgrauem Serpentin, mit halbovalförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14576.

Grösse: D. 19 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: stehende menschliche Figur, mit nach unten gestreckten Armen.

1. Zwischenzeit.

¹³ Nr. 56–61, 63, 65 bzw. Nr. 66, 67.

¹⁴ Nr. 68, 69 bzw. Nr. 79.

¹⁵ Nr. 75, 76.

¹⁶ Nach PETRIE möglicherweise eine Wiedergabe des Hathorkopfes; die ursprüngliche Form ist falsch verstanden (PBDS, S. 5).

3. Siegelamulett aus Karneol, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff. Ein Teil der Siegelplatte weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14577.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Nur der obere Teil der Darstellung der Siegelfläche – wahrscheinlich eine menschliche Figur – ist erhalten.

1. Zwischenzeit.

4. Siegelamulett aus hellgrünem Serpentin, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14559.

Grösse: D. 9 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Siegelfläche: liegender Hase.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

5. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem, glasiertem Steatit, mit wagerechtem, durch zwei parallele Rillen in Sektionen aufgeteiltem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14632.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Biene.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1, Nr. 21–24, 26.

6. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem, glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14624.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Biene.

1. Zwischenzeit.

7. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit, mit giebelförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14580.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein Kriechtier – möglicherweise eine Eidechse.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 164; Pl. 6, Nr. 104 A.

8. Siegelamulett aus hellgrün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes(?).



Abb. 1. Siegelamulette. Siegelfläche. Nr. 1, 7, 16, 21, 32, 36, 37, 42, 45, 49, 54, 55, 57, 72, 73, 75, 80.

Abb. 2. Siegelamulette. Rückseite. Cowroid und Skarabäen. Nr. 42 (Skarabäus), 49 (Cowroid), 57, 74, 75, 80 (Skarabäen).



Inv. Nr. MM 14582.

Grösse: D. 13 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Eidechse.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 172.

9. Siegelamulett aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit giebelförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14566.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Eidechse zwischen zwei gebogenen Ritzen.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 171.

10. Siegelamulett aus grünbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14641.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: Skarabäus(?).

6. oder 7. Dynastie.

11. Siegelamulett aus grünlichbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.
Inv. Nr. MM 14584.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein nachlässig dargestellter stilisierter Skarabäus(?).

7. Dynastie(?).

12. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraunem Serpentin. Griff weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14637.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Auf der an drei Stellen durchbohrten Siegelplatte eine Eidechse(?) in stilisierter Darstellung.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

In Edfu gekauft.

13. Siegelamulett aus graubraunem Steatit, mit schwach gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14650.

Grösse: $15 \times 13 \times 8$ mm.

Auf der fast quadratischen Siegelplatte ein stilisiertes Kerbtier oder Eidechse.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

14. Siegelamulett aus gelblichbraunem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches.

Inv. Nr. MM 14627.

Grösse: $16 \times 14 \times 10$ mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelplatte ein stilisiertes Kerbtier(?).

1. Zwischenzeit (7. Dynastie).

15. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit, in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, mit zum Teil beschädigtem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14647.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kerbtier(?).

Wahrscheinlich 1. Zwischenzeit.

16. Siegelamulett aus grauschwarzem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14569.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisiertes Kerbtier(?).

Wahrscheinlich 1. Zwischenzeit.

17. Siegelamulett aus schwarzem Serpentin, mit giebelförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14644.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche Eidechse und Skorpion in stilisierter Darstellung.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

18. Siegelamulett aus grauweissem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt der Göttin Isis mit dem Horuskind¹⁷.

Inv. Nr. MM 14941.

Grösse: $15 \times 16 \times 27$ mm.

Auf der halbovalförmigen Siegelplatte dieselbe Darstellung wie auf Nr. 17.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

In Assuan gekauft.

19. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit schwach gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14649.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stark stilisierte Darstellung eines über einem Gefangenen(?) liegenden Löwen(?).

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, S. 5, Pl. 2, Nr. M 78, M 100.

20. Siegelamulett aus weisslichgrauem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches.

Inv. Nr. MM 14599.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: stark stilisierter Vogel(?)¹⁸.

1. Zwischenzeit (7. Dynastie).

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1, Nr. 25, 26.

¹⁷ Vgl. PBDS, S. 3, Pl. 1: A 1. Oder handelt es sich vielleicht um eine profane Darstellung dieses Motivs? (Vgl. *Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection*, 1952, Fig. 28.)

¹⁸ Oder eine Biene?

21. Siegelamulett aus grünlichem Feldspat, mit giebelförmigem oben gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14596.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Vogel mit erhobenen Flügeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

In Luxor gekauft.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 305.

22. Siegelamulett aus schwarzem Steatit, mit halbovalförmigem Griff. Die Durchbohrung beschädigt.

Inv. Nr. MM 14950.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: laufender Vogel mit erhobenen Flügeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

23. Siegelamulett aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14579.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

24. Siegelamulett aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes.

Inv. Nr. MM 14572.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

25. Siegelamulett aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff. Ein Teil der Siegelplatte weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14571.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

26. Siegelamulett aus schwarzem Serpentin, mit giebelförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14574.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: Tier (das Set-Tier?) in stilisierter

Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, S. 5, Pl. 2, Nr. 125, 126.

27. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraunem Steatit. Griff weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14948.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

28. Siegelamulett aus grünlichbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14558.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

29. Siegelamulett aus weisslichgrauem Steatit, mit giebelförmigem Griff. Am Rande der Siegelplatte eine Beschädigung.

Inv. Nr. MM 14573.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: spiralähnliches Muster¹⁹.

1. Zwischenzeit.

30. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14621.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: geometrische Darstellung in Gestalt eines Kreuzes mit in den Quadranten eingeschriebenen Winkeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 339.

31. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14625.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: dasselbe Muster wie auf Nr. 29.

1. Zwischenzeit.

¹⁹ Möglicherweise eine sich ringelnde Schlange.



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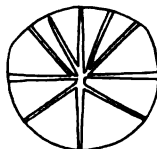
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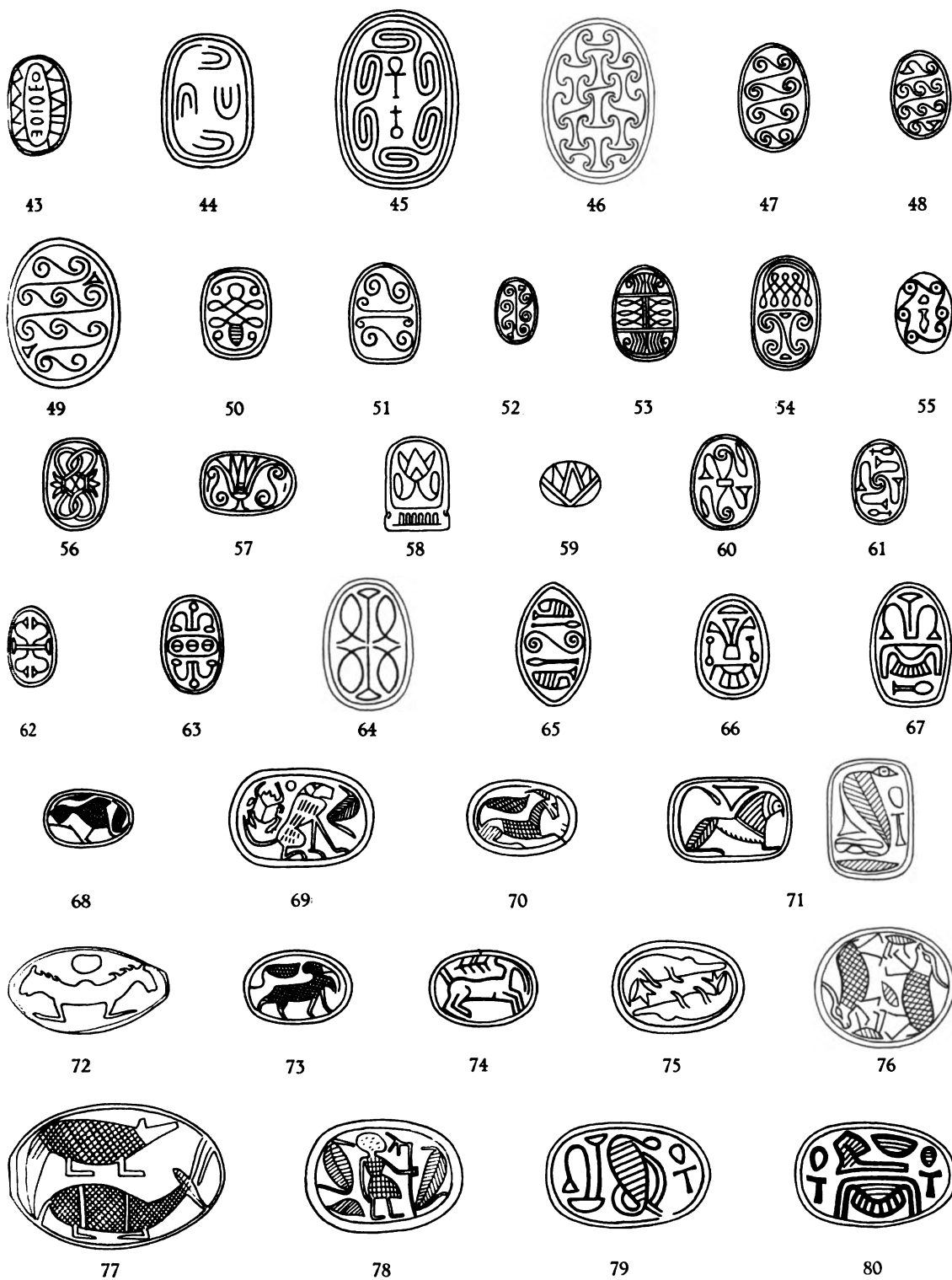
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32. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14561.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: Swastika²⁰.

1. Zwischenzeit.

33. Siegelamulett aus grauem Steatit, mit gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14568.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: sternähnliches Kerbenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

34. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraunem Serpentin, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes(?).

Inv. Nr. MM 14648.

Grösse: 17×14×10 mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelfläche ein unregelmässiges Rautenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 390.

35. Siegelamulett aus weissgrauem Steatit, mit halbovalförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14549.

Grösse: 22×14×16 mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelfläche ein unregelmässiges Rautenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

36. Siegelamulett aus bräunlichem Serpentin, in Gestalt eines Prismas mit schrägen schwach gerundeten Kurzseiten. Die Durchbohrung beschädigt.

Inv. Nr. MM 14645.

Grösse: 16×12×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: gehender Pavian (?).

6. oder 7. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 2, Nr. 90.

37. Kugelabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus

gelblichgrauem Steatit. Ohne Durchbohrung.
Inv. Nr. MM 14947.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 12 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein ^cnh-Zeichen, von einer in Schleifen gelegten, verknotenen Seil eingerahmt. Rechts und links eine Seilschleife mit gebogenen Enden.

12. oder 13. Dynastie.

In Luxor gekauft.

38. Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11372.

Grösse: 17×14×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kreuzmuster, mit Speichen in Gestalt der Papyrussäule, von Kreisen, bzw. Lotusknospen flankiert.

Mittleres Reich.

39. Kugelabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus grünlichblau glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11376.

Grösse: D. 10 mm.; H. 4 mm.

Siegelfläche: Papyruspflanze(?), über dieser ein nb-Zeichen und Sonnenscheibe.

Anfang 18. Dynastie?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 18, Nr. 1357; NS, Pl. 41 Nr. 36; NSS, Pl. 10.

40. Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11366.

Grösse: 18×15×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: Spiralmuster, von Lotus umrahmt. Wahrscheinlich 12. Dynastie.

41. Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14942.

Grösse: 20×18×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei Bienen, als Ausfüllungsdekoration zu dritt verkettete Kreise.

Mittleres Reich.

In Luxor gekauft.

²⁰ Zu diesem Motiv vgl. PBDS, S. 3, Pl. 3.

42. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 11277.
Grösse: 26×19×13 mm.
Siegelfläche: Ovale mit Hieroglypheninskription von Spiralborte eingerahmt²¹.
2. Zwischenzeit.
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 9, Nr. 344; NS, Pl. 24, Nr. 19; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 433.

43. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 11340.
Grösse: 17×12×7 mm.
Siegelfläche: Ovale mit Hieroglypheninskription, von Zickzacklinien flankiert²².
Neues Reich oder später.

44. Skarabäus aus Lapislazuli.
Inv. Nr. MM 11267.
Grösse: 22×15×11 mm.
Siegelfläche: nachlässig graviertes Muster aus ovalen Spiralen.
Mittleres Reich.

45. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 11324.
Grösse: 28×20×12 mm.
Auf der Siegelfläche ein ^c*nh*- (↑) und ein *nfr*- Zeichen (↓), von einer Borte aus verketteten ovalen Spiralen eingerahmt.
Mittleres Reich.
Vgl. NSS, Pl. 11, Nr. 36465.

46. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrün glasiertem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 11325.
Grösse: 27×18×11 mm.
Siegelfläche: Muster, aus verketteten, bügel-förmigen Schlingen zusammengesetzt.
Mittleres Reich.
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 86; NS, Pl. 18, Nr. 24.

47. Skarabäus aus ursprünglich blaugrün glasiertem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 13897.
Grösse: 18×12×8 mm.
Siegelfläche: Muster, aus S-förmigen verketteten Spiralen zusammengesetzt.
12. Dynastie oder 2. Zwischenzeit.
Vgl. NSS, Pl. 13, Nr. 36551.

48. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.
Inv. Nr. MM 14269.
Grösse: 14×10×6 mm.
Auf der Siegelfläche ein aus S-förmigen, schräggestellten verketteten Spiralen zusammengesetztes Muster, die Endspiralen mit Lotusblüten abgeschlossen.
2. Zwischenzeit.
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 49.

49. Cowroid aus grauweissem Steatit, mit einem zwei Lotusblüten enthaltenden Muster auf der konvexen Seite.
Inv. Nr. MM 14945.
Grösse: 24×20×8 mm.
Siegelfläche: Muster aus verketteten S-förmigen Spiralen, mit zwei Lotusblüten.
Mittleres Reich.
In Edfu gekauft.
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 16, Nr. 1088 (ohne Lotus).

50. Skaraboid aus braunglasiertem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt des Gesichts eines Asiaten in Rechtsprofil.
Inv. Nr. MM 11315.
Grösse: 15×12×7 mm.
Siegelfläche: Seilschleifenmuster zwischen bügel-förmigen Schlingen.
Mittleres Reich(?).

51. Skarabäus aus Amethyst.
Inv. Nr. MM 11268.
Grösse: 16×12×9 mm.
Siegelfläche: Muster aus bügel- und S-förmigen Schlingen.
Mittleres Reich.

²¹ Vgl. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, S. 23.

²² Vgl. Nr. 42, Anm.

52. Skarabäus aus hellblau glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14249.

Grösse: $10 \times 7 \times 5$ mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster aus senkrecht gestellten, verketteten Spiralen nebst zwei Lotusblüten.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 103, 104 (ohne Lotus);
NSS, Pl. 13, Nr. 36548 (ohne Lotus).

53. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11285.

Grösse: $16 \times 10 \times 7$ mm.

Siegelfläche: gleichmässiges Muster aus waagrecht gegeneinander gestellten Ösen.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

54. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11282.

Grösse: $18 \times 11 \times 7$ mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein aus verketteten Seilschleifen und bügelförmigen, verketteten Schlingen zusammengesetztes Muster, mit zwei in

der Bügelkomposition durch eine diagonal laufende S-förmige Schlinge getrennten *nb*-Zeichen.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 16, Nr. 1150.

55. Skarabäus aus gräulichblau glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14271.

Grösse: $13 \times 9 \times 6$ mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche, von einer Borte aus verketteten Kreisen mit eingeschriebenen Tupfen eingerahmt, die Inschrift *R^c nfr*.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 9, Nr. 329, 333; PS, Pl. 20, y, z, aa; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 40.

56. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11283.

Grösse: $15 \times 10 \times 7$ mm.

Siegelfläche: Seilschleifenmuster mit zwei gegenüberliegenden Lotusblüten.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

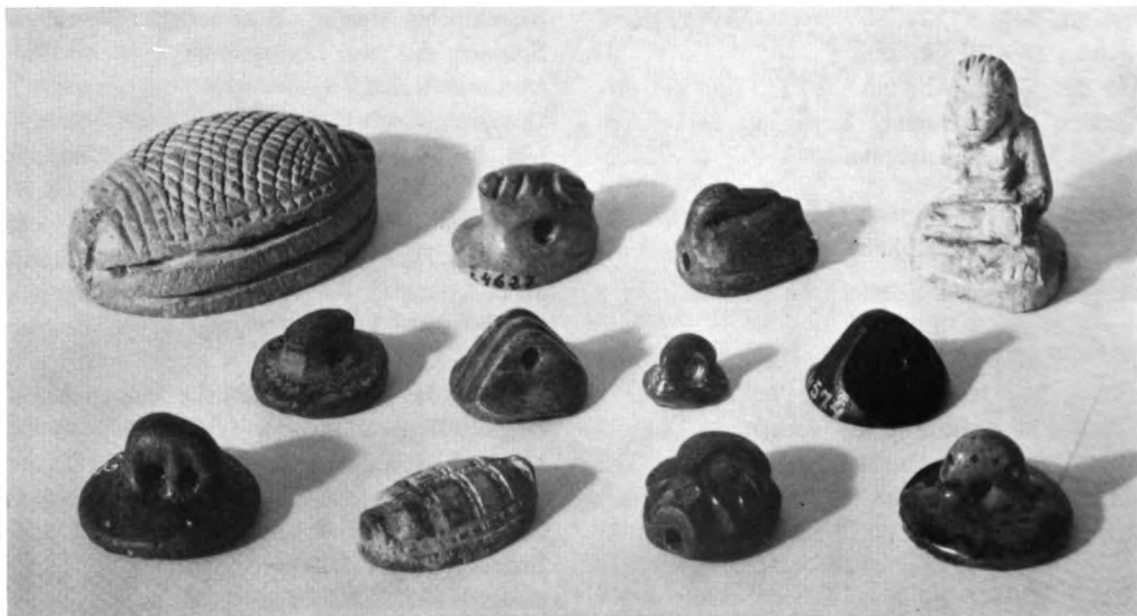


Abb. 5. Siegelamulette. Rückseiten verschiedener Form. Nr. 77 (Skaraboid), 14 (Knopfsiegel), 58 (Skaraboid), 18, 19, 5, 4, 26, 24 (Knopfsiegel), 65 (Cowroid), 50 (Skaraboid), 10 (Knopfsiegel).

57. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11328.

Grösse: 15×11×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Lotusblüte, von S-förmigen Spiralen flankiert.

Mittleres Reich?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 412.

58. Skaraboid aus ursprünglich grün glasiertem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt einer schlafenden Gans²³.

Inv. Nr. MM 14562.

Grösse: 15×10×10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kartusche mit Lotusblüte und Knospen.

18. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 416; NS, Pl. 42, Nr. 15; NSS, Pl. 12, Nr. 37169, 37145; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 411.

59. Skarabäus aus rotem Jaspis.

Inv. Nr. MM 11272.

Grösse: 10×7×5 mm.

Siegelfläche: Lotusblüte.

Mittleres Reich.

60. Skarabäus aus grün glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14294.

Grösse: 15×12×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster, aus Spiralen, Lotusblüten und Lotusknospen zusammengesetzt.

Wahrscheinlich Anfang 18. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 8, Nr. 178.

61. Skarabäus aus ursprünglich grünglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11284.

Grösse: 13×9×6 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche, zwischen ^cnh-Zeichen ein aus vier Lotusblüten zusammengesetztes spiralförmiges Muster.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 8, Nr. 180.

62. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11300.

Grösse: 12×9×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: smꜥ-Zeichen(?) — die Symbole für die Vereinigung der beiden Länder (Ober- und Unterägypten).

Spätzeit?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 385.

63. Skarabäus aus weissgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11342.

Grösse: 15×10×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kartusche mit drei Kreisen, zwischen Lotus(?).

Neues Reich oder später.

64. Skarabäus aus weissgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 13740.

Grösse: 21×14×10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster aus vier gegenüberliegenden, zu zwei verketteten Ösen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

65. Cowroid aus graugelb glasiertem Steatit, mit rautengemusterter Rückseite.

Inv. Nr. MM 11356.

Grösse: 19×18×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: S-förmige Spirale, von Lotusknospen und umschnürtem Lotus flankiert.

2. Zwischenzeit.

66. Skarabäus aus grünlichblau glasiertem gebranntem Ton.

Inv. Nr. MM 11298.

Grösse: 16×12×8 mm.

Siegelfläche: hieroglyphische Zeichen.

2. Zwischenzeit?

67. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11327.

Grösse: 19×13×8 mm.

Siegelfläche: hieroglyphische Zeichen.

12. Dynastie oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

68. Skarabäus aus graubraun glasiertem Steatit.

²³ Vgl. NS, S. 87, Fig. 92.

Inv. Nr. MM 11333.

Grösse: $14 \times 10 \times 7$ mm.

Siegelfläche: Löwe, vor Uräus.

2. Zwischenzeit.

69. Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11280.

Grösse: $23 \times 16 \times 10$ mm.

Siegelfläche: sitzender Löwe, zwischen Uräus und Skarabäus.

2. Zwischenzeit.

70. Skarabäus aus grauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11331.

Grösse: $18 \times 12 \times 7$ mm.

Siegelfläche: liegender Löwe(?).

2. Zwischenzeit.

71. Plaque aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11307.

Grösse: $19 \times 14 \times 5$ mm.

Siegelplatten: falkenköpfiger Sphinx unter einer Lotusblüte(?), bzw. ein Uräus auf *nb*-Zeichen, von einem *nh*-Zeichen und einer Lotusblüte flankiert.

Neues Reich?

72. Cowroid aus gelbweiss glasiertem Steatit, mit auf der konvexen Seite längsgerichtetem, schraffiertem Banddekor.

Inv. Nr. MM 11355.

Grösse: $25 \times 14 \times 9$ mm.

Siegelfläche: unter Sonnenscheibe die vereinten Vorderteile zweier Löwen²⁴.

18. Dynastie?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 882.

73. Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11330.

Grösse: $18 \times 12 \times 8$ mm.

Siegelfläche: unter *hps*-Zeichen eine Gazelle mit

rückwärts gedrehtem Kopf.

2. Zwischenzeit.

74. Skarabäus aus grauweissem, glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11332.

Grösse: $17 \times 12 \times 7$ mm.

Siegelfläche: springende Gazelle mit rückwärts gedrehtem Kopf, darüber Zweig.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 866; NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36666.

75. Skarabäus aus ursprünglich blaugrün glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11288.

Grösse: $21 \times 15 \times 9$ mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei umgekehrt einander gegenüber liegende Krokodile.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36919.

76. Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11361.

Grösse: $22 \times 19 \times 6$ mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei umgekehrt einander gegenüber stehende Gazellen(?), zwischen ihnen zwei Papyruspflanzen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 875.

77. Skaraboid aus grauweissem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt eines zweiköpfigen Igels.

Inv. Nr. MM 11352.

Grösse: $34 \times 24 \times 13$ mm.

Siegelfläche: Krokodil, über diesem liegende Gazelle.

2. Zwischenzeit oder 18. Dynastie.

Vgl. NS, Pl. 25, Nr. 33; NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36706.

78. Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11329.

Grösse: $25 \times 18 \times 10$ mm.

²⁴ Als Bezeichnung für Shu und Tefnut (PBDS, S. 24).

Siegelfläche: zwischen zwei Uräusschlangen stehende menschliche Figur in spitzem Knieschurz und mit einem Lotus(?) in der Hand. Unter der linken Uräus ein *nb*-Zeichen(?).

2. Zwischenzeit.

79. Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11326.

Grösse: 26×18×12 mm.

Siegelfläche: Uräus zwischen *nh*-Zeichen und Lotus.

Mittleres Reich?

80. Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11278.

Grösse: 26×18×12 mm.

Siegelfläche: zwischen zwei *nh*-Zeichen, auf

dem Zeichen für „Gold“ (*nb*) der Vorderteil eines Löwen, darüber ein *nb*-Zeichen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. NS, Pl. 20, Nr. 29.

Abkürzungen

MDIAK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertums-Kunde in Kairo.

NS NEWBERRY, P. E., Scarabs. London 1906.

NSS NEWBERRY, P. E., Scarabshaped Seals. London 1907.

PBDS PETRIE, W. M. F., Buttons and Design Scarabs. London 1925.

PS PETRIE, W. M. F., Scarabs and Cylinders with Names. London 1917.

WSB WARD, J., The Sacred Beetle. London 1902.

A Latial Iron Age Tomb-Group

PÄR GÖRAN GIEROW

The tomb-group to be discussed on the following pages¹ was found some 1,500 m. NW of Castel Gandolfo in a plantation of peach-trees at a locality called Fosso del Truglio at the Pascolaro of Marino.

The site is not topographically isolated from other find-spots known to us from the Alban Hills. The distance to Riserva del Truglio, where U. Antonielli in 1923 excavated a necropolis² mainly belonging to Period IV of the Latial Iron Age, but also containing objects of earlier periods³, is only some hundreds of me-

tres. More tombs, of the same date as those of Riserva del Truglio, were excavated by Antonielli in 1928 at Terreno Costa, somewhat N of Riserva del Truglio⁴. There can be no doubt that these localities form part of the same necropolis, belonging to one of the hut villages of the Alban Hills⁵.

Since the tomb was not unearthed during regular excavations, we have no information as to the type of the tomb or the burial rites. It can, however, be surmised from the presence of a hut urn among the material that incinera-

¹ It will be dealt with also in my forthcoming work on the Iron Age Culture of Latium. Since the Latial Iron Age tombs are, alas, rather few, every new discovery is of considerable importance. I have, for that reason, accepted with pleasure Dr. Vessberg's proposal to make it known here by a special paper. The tomb-group has previously been illustrated by A. BOËTHIUS in his contribution to the work *San Giovenale. Etruskerna. Landet och folket*, 1960, p. 40, fig. 24, and by the present author in the paper "Notes on the Iron Age Chronology of Latium", in *Opusc. Rom.* III, 1961, p. 115, fig. 10.

² *NotSc* 1924, pp. 429 ff.

³ Twenty-nine of the thirty tombs belong to Period IV, one of them (tomb IV) to the end of Period III. Among the sporadic finds with a certain provenance from these excavations there are some specimens of Contracted Impasto, datable to Period III.

For the division of the Iron Age of Latium into four periods and for the nomenclature of the Impasto pottery of these periods proposed by E. GJERSTAD and

to be presented by him in a forthcoming paper, *Discussions Concerning Early Rome*, 2, in vol. V of *Opusc. Rom.*, I refer, until Gjerstad's paper has appeared, to my own article in *Opusc. Rom.* IV, 1962, *The First Iron Age Discoveries in the Alban Hills*.

⁴ These excavations were never published by Antonielli. There are some brief references to them in *BPI* 48, 1928, pp. 169 f., and 50–51, 1930–31, pp. 189 ff. The present whereabouts of this material are unknown.

⁵ From a topographical point of view, the most probable site of this village is the summit of Monte Crescenzo (cf. F. v. DUHN, *Italische Gräberkunde* I, 1924, p. 393). Trial trenches dug there in 1923 by Antonielli (*NotSc* 1923, pp. 79 f.) did not, however, reveal any traces datable to the Iron Age, but since the researches evidently were limited to a rather small area, this does not constitute a negative proof. If this position for the village is correct, the tombs found on the N slopes of Monte Crescenzo should be attributed to the same habitation.

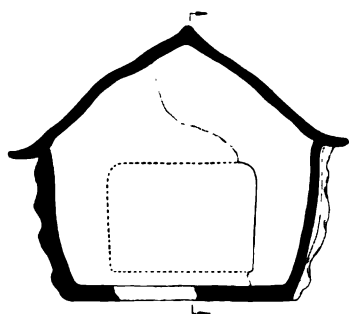


Fig. 1. The Latial tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet. The hut urn. Front-view.

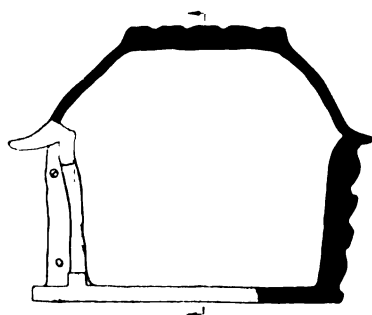


Fig. 2. The hut urn. Side-view.



tion was practised. The bottom of the tomb was at a depth of 1.70 m. below the actual surface level.

The tomb-group comprises nine objects, eight hand-made vases of Impasto and a razor of bronze.

1. *Hut Urn* (Figs. 1–2). Rectangular with slightly convex sides and slightly widening towards the front; slightly convex walls, widening upwards and projecting on both sides of the low rectangular door-opening; the projecting part of the wall has on one side – the other is missing and restored – two perforations, one at the upper, the other at the lower end, for keeping the doorslab, now missing, in place; vertical, transversely notched ribs on long sides, on back, and at corners between these sides, representing wooden poles, used for the construction of the walls; conical roof with projecting eaves, sloping less than the rest of the roof, and a longitudinal notched top-ridge; notched ribs from ends of top-ridge to points above the corners of the hut-walls. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay coarse, dark grey, brown towards the surface. Broken and mended; base and front part much restored. H. 21.5 cm., d. of base 17.5 – ab. 23.5 cm. (MM 1957:5).

2. *Jug* (Figs. 3–4, No. 2). Flat base with low omphalos; conical body with low, slightly convex shoulder; rather high neck, slightly concave and tapering upwards; rim missing; vertical handle on the shoulder. Decorated on the shoulder with two encircling incised lines framing groups each of four oblique incised lines. Slip dark brown and brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, reddish brown, partly with dark grey core. Broken and mended; handle, rim, and upper part of neck missing. H. as preserved 8.8 cm., max. d. 9.3 cm. (MM 1957: 8).

3. *Jar* (Figs. 3–4, No. 3). Flat base; biconical body; outturned rim. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, dark grey, reddish brown towards the surface. Rim slightly chipped. H. 10.8 cm., d. at rim 8.6 cm. (MM 1957:6).

4. *Jar* (Figs. 3–4, No. 4). Flat base with low omphalos; squat, biconical body; outcurving rim. Undecorated. Slip and clay as no. 3. Rim slightly chipped. H. 7.2–8.0 cm., d. at rim 7.9 cm. (MM 1957: 7).

5. *Cup* (Figs. 3–4, No. 5). Flat base; conical (slightly concave) body with convex shoulder; erect rim, widening upwards; high, vertical, biforal handle from rim to shoulder, with lower part trapezoidal in section. Undecorated. Slip and clay as preceding. Broken and mended; rim chipped, upper loop of handle partly missing, but restored. H. 4.2–4.8 cm., d. at rim 6.9 cm. (MM 1957: 11).

6. *Cup* (Figs. 3–4, No. 6). Flat base; segmental body; slightly concave neck; slightly outcurving rim; high, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, with lower part elliptical in section. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, slightly burnished. Clay fairly coarse, red-brown, brown towards the surface, partly with dark grey core. Most of handle missing, rim chipped. H. 2.0–2.3 cm., d. at rim 4.1 cm. (MM 1957: 12).

7. *Plate* (Figs. 3–4, No. 7). Slightly concave, circular disc with slightly raised central part, resting upon three legs. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, dark grey, reddish brown towards the surface. Most of legs and one segment of plate missing, the latter restored. H. as preserved 3.6 cm., d. 13.8 cm. (MM 1957: 10).

8. *Askos* (Figs. 3–4, No. 8). Flat base; oblong biconical (biconvex) body with a longitudinal ridge along the back; neck asymmetrically placed, at one end of body; rim missing; ring-handle near base of neck, placed transversely across back-ridge. Undecorated. Slip and clay as preceding. Neck and much of one side of body restored, rim and handle missing, surface chipped. H. of body 8.2 cm., l. 11.6 cm., w. 10.1 cm. (MM 1957: 9).

9. *Razor* (Figs. 3–4, No. 9). Trapezoidal blade with side nearest handle rounded; circular perforation opposite handle, near edge; handle made in one piece with blade and consisting of

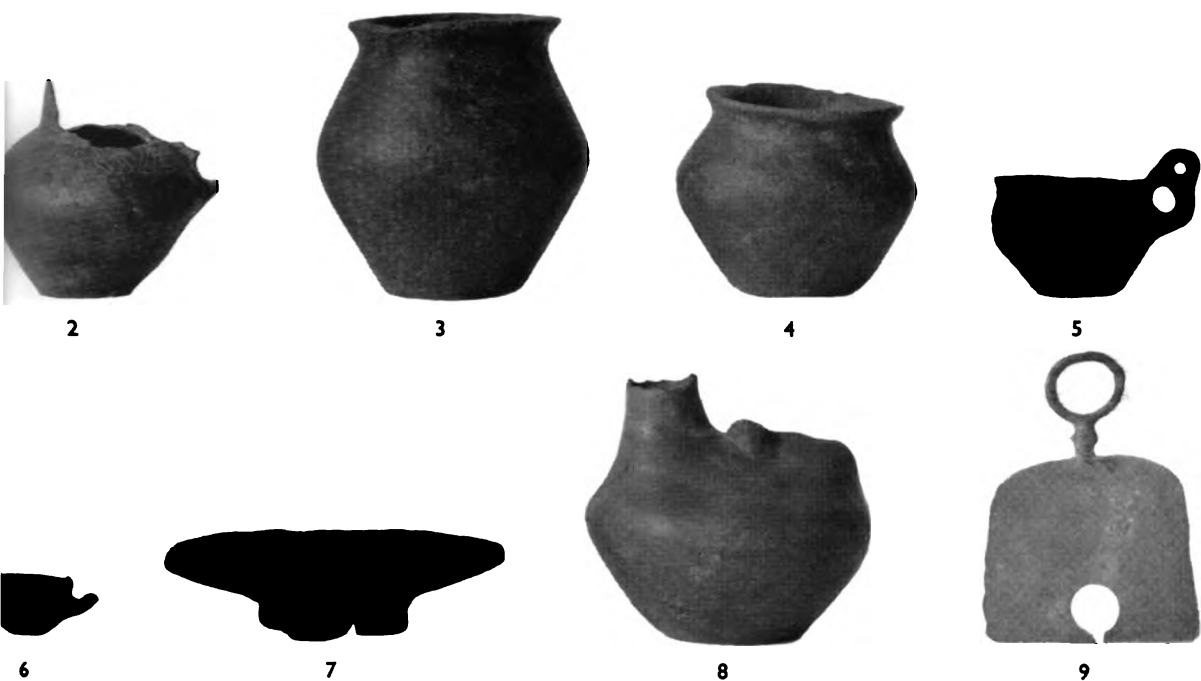


Fig. 3. The Latial tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet: Nos. 2-9. Scale 1:3.

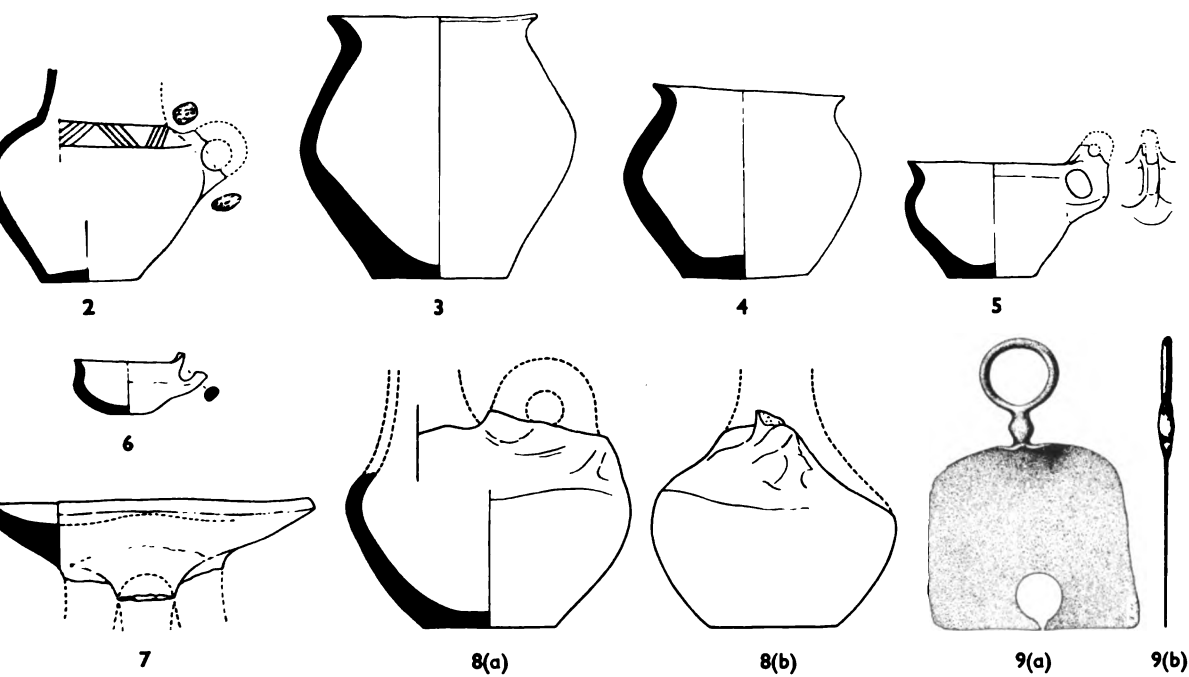


Fig. 4. Nos. 2-9. Scale 1:3.

a narrow, biconical shaft, elliptical in section, and a circular ring, elliptical to diamond-shaped in section. In a good state of preservation; edge slightly damaged. L. (handle included) 11.9 cm., w. 8.5 cm. (MM 1957: 13).

To establish the date of the tomb-group comprising the objects described above, we have to look for parallels to them in other closed find-groups from Latium. Since the tomb in the Medelhavsmuseet, by the material found in it, belongs to the so-called Boschetto group⁶, i. e. the Latial version of the Iron Age culture of the Tolfa region, these parallels should preferably be sought for in other tombs of that group.

We will begin our study with the hut urn (no. 1). As to the general type it resembles above all the hut urn discovered in a tomb at Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea⁷, datable to the second half of Period I of the Latial Iron Age. The general proportions of the two urns are much the same. A more specific feature that they have in common and that is not found on any other Latial hut urn is the rendering of the walls, which widen markedly towards the top and show indications in relief of the wooden

poles used for the construction of the walls of the hut. There are, however, also certain differences between the urns, in the execution of the door-opening, the ridge-logs on the roof, and the roof itself. The last-mentioned stylistic divergence should be especially noted, since it seems to be chronologically important. The roof of the urn from Velletri is conical and fairly high like that of the urn of tomb Q of the Forum necropolis⁸, whereas that of our urn is lower and has somewhat outcurving eaves, less sloping than the remaining part of the roof, a stylistic feature which, as far as our evidence goes, makes its first appearance in Period II⁹ and is then found also in Period III¹⁰. These observations lead to the conclusion that the hut urn in the Medelhavsmuseet, on the one hand, should not be dated before Period II, but on the other hand, hardly after that period, because of the similarities to the urn from Velletri.

The jug (no. 2) has no good parallels in Latial find-contexts. The jug with a high conical neck is not found in any other tomb of the Boschetto group, but belongs exclusively to the different Latial versions of the Fossa culture. Within the Boschetto group the vertical handle is found on two vases from Marino, Vigna Delsette¹¹, both of Expansive Impasto, and on two vases from tomb 1 of those discovered recently at the Forum Romanum near the Arch of Augustus¹², one of them of Expansive, the other of Normal Impasto¹³. Our vase is certainly best compared with the last-mentioned of these specimens, if we leave the different execution of the neck out of consideration and only look at the shape of the body with its sloping.

⁶ This cultural group within the Iron Age Culture of Latium was first identified by G. SÄFLUND, *Bemerkungen zur Vorgeschichte Etruriens*, StEtr 12, 1938, p. 31. It is regarded by many scholars (cf., e.g., H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, 1959; id., *Vom Anfang Roms*, 1959; R. PERONI, *Per una nuova cronologia del sepolceto arcaico del Foro, Civiltà del Ferro*, 1960, pp. 461 ff., to mention some important recent works) as a transitional phase between the Bronze and the Iron Age. As shown already by SÄFLUND, *op. cit.*, it must, however, be considered as contemporary with the other aspects of the Iron Age culture. Cf. also P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69–70, 1960–61, pp. 243 ff., esp. p. 248, n. 23, and the works referred to there. M. PALLOTINO accepts (*Le origini di Roma*, ArchClass 12, 1960, pp. 1 ff., esp. pp. 15 ff.) the low dates of the so-called Proto-Villanovan culture of the Tolfa region (they were, in fact, first proposed by him in StEtr XIII, 1939, pp. 94 ff.), but is inclined to reject their application on the Roman and Latial find-complexes.

⁷ NotSc 1893, pp. 200 f., figs. 2 and 2a. MonAnt XV, 1905, pl. XXII, 11.

⁸ E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, 1956, fig. 19.1.

⁹ Ibid., figs. 48.2 (tomb C) and 70.1 (tomb U).

¹⁰ Ibid., figs. 105.2 (tomb GG) and 112.2 (Arch of Augustus, tomb 3).

¹¹ One of them is illustrated by G. PINZA, *BullCom* XXVI, 1898, pl. VIII, 15.

¹² E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 85, 1–2.

¹³ Oral information from Prof. Gjerstad; cf. his forthcoming paper in *Opusc. Rom.* V.

almost conical shoulder. The high neck, distinctly separated from the body, can, on the other hand, be seen on two jars from tomb XIV of the necropolis of Anzio, of the Boschetto type and datable to Period II¹⁴. It seems thus probable that the jug, like the hut urn discussed above, belongs stylistically to the Normal Impasto of Period II.

The same date is probable also for the two biconical jars (nos. 3 and 4), although no such vases are known from closed find-groups. If we take the general stylistic development of the Latial Iron Age pottery into consideration, it becomes, however, evident that they are earlier than the horizontally contracted jars of tomb 4 at the Arch of Augustus¹⁵. Two jars like those in Stockholm, but provided with an incised decoration, were discovered at the excavations of the necropolis of Anzio¹⁶, but their find-contexts are not known. From the same necropolis there is also a specimen¹⁷ that seems to illustrate the shape of this type of jar in the Expansive Impasto, that mainly belongs to Period I.

The cup no. 5 has its best parallel in a specimen from Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio¹⁸, which, however, has a higher neck and a more outcurving rim. The shapes of the bodies and the very small upper loops of the handles of the two cups are, on the other hand, almost identical. The tomb of San Lorenzo Vecchio belongs to Period II of the Iron Age. The same type of cup is represented by a specimen from Marino, San Rocco¹⁹, the context of which is, however, unknown.

The miniature vase no. 6 is of no great chronological value because of its small size, which

does not permit a close stylistic study of it. The miniaturistic tendency in the tomb-gifts of the Latial tombs can be observed throughout the first three periods of the Iron Age and can be seen both in tombs of the Boschetto group and in tombs of the other cultural groups of Latium²⁰.

The plate on three legs (no. 7) has no exact counterpart. There is, however, no doubt that it is stylistically later than that from Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea²¹. That tomb should, as already mentioned, be assigned to the second half of Period I, and in fact, the plate with its distinct rim seems to be a characteristic specimen of the Expansive Impasto of that period²². On the other hand, our plate differs also considerably from a specimen of Contracted Impasto like that from the Arch of Augustus, tomb 4²³. Therefore, it seems that the plate, like the pottery discussed in the preceding paragraphs, should be classified as Normal Impasto, and that it fills a gap in the typological sequence of this pottery form²⁴.

The askos (no. 8) should be compared with that from Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea²⁵. For that reason it must be classified as Expansive Impasto. The heavier shape of this type of askos in the Normal Impasto is best illustrated by that

²⁰ I quote the following examples, without attempting a complete list: Period I: Grottaferreta, Villa Cavalletti, tomb V; Period II: Forum necropolis, tombs A and N; Arch of Augustus, tomb 1; Period III: Arch of Augustus, tomb 4.

²¹ NotSc 1893, p. 210, fig. 13.

²² It should, however, be noted that a similar plate, only slightly more concave, was discovered in 1960 by Dr. R. Peroni at Allumiere, Poggio La Pozza, tomb 4, which, in my opinion, might belong to a stage corresponding to Period II of the Latial Iron Age. Cf. NotSc 1960, p. 355, fig. 12, 5.

²³ E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 113, 12.

²⁴ I leave out of consideration the plates found in contexts not belonging to the Boschetto group: Forum necropolis, tomb C; Marino, Vigna Meluzzi, tomb II; two specimens from mixed find-groups of Grottaferreta, Villa Cavalletti; and one from the excavations of 1816–1817.

²⁵ NotSc 1893, p. 209, fig. 8; photographic illustration in G. PINZA, *Storia della civiltà latina*, pl. C, 2.

¹⁴ P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69, 1960, p. 247, fig. 2, 2–3.

¹⁵ E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 113, 4–5.

¹⁶ P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69, 1960, p. 251, fig. 3, 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 3, 2.

¹⁸ BPI, N. Ser. IV, 1940, p. 178, and pl. II, fig. 2, 5.

¹⁹ *MonAnt* XV, 1905, pl. XVIII, 19.

from Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio²⁶, whereas the lax, baggy askoi from another tomb from the territory of Velletri²⁷ and the Arch of Augustus, tomb 3²⁸, can be cited as examples of Contracted Impasto.

The razor (no. 9) has only one parallel in Latium, from Grottaferrata, Villa Cavalletti²⁹, and that is not from a closed find-group, and, moreover, it differs from ours in the number of holes near the edge and in the execution of the handle. In addition to that razor, there are a number of miniature specimens, one of them forming part of a tomb-group of Period II, the contents of which are at least partly known, i. e. that formerly belonging to the de Blacas Collection from the excavations of 1816–17³⁰. Thus the razor does not contribute to the solution of the problem of the date of our tomb. I am, however, not certain that it would have done so, even if more examples from well dated find-groups were known to us, since we should not forget that, in comparison with the pottery, the products of the bronze craft often manifest a certain conservatism in their typology, at least partly to be explained by their longer life-time. For that reason the bronzes express in a much less faithful way than the pottery, the aesthetic changes upon which the stylistic development which must be the basis of the chronological divisions is dependent.

²⁶ BPI N. Ser. IV, 1940, p. 177, and pl. II, fig. 2, 1.

²⁷ NotSc 1934, p. 110, fig. 2, 5.

²⁸ E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 112, 10.

²⁹ NotSc 1902, p. 189, fig. 101.

³⁰ G. DE BLACAS, *Mémoire sur une découverte de vases funéraires près d'Albano*, *Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires de France* 28, 1865; H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Vom Anfang Roms*, pl. XIV; P. G. GIEROW, *The First Iron Age Discoveries in the Alban Hills*, *Opusc. Rom. IV*, 1962, pl. VIII B. Of this tomb-group only the hut urn, now in the British Museum, is preserved today.

The study of the nine objects which constitute the tomb-group discussed in this paper has shown that two of the objects, the miniature cup no. 6 and the razor no. 9, are of no use for establishing the date of the tomb. Of the remaining seven specimens of pottery one, the askos no. 8, should be classified as Expansive Impasto, the others, with different degrees of certainty, as Normal Impasto. Since this is the variety of Impasto characteristic of Period II, there cannot be any doubt that the tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet should be assigned to that period. The presence of one specimen of Expansive Impasto, a variety that generally is found in tombs of Period I, in our tomb should not surprise us. Such survivals of earlier types of pottery in later find-contexts are, in fact, not uncommon in the Latial Iron Age tombs³¹. It is, however, perhaps an indication that the tomb in Stockholm belongs to the first half of Period II, which in absolute dates³² would mean somewhere around the third quarter of the VIIIth century B.C.

³¹ Expansive Impasto in tombs of Period II: Arch of Augustus, tomb 1; Forum necropolis, tomb C; Grottaferrata, Villa Cavalletti, tomb I. Normal Impasto in tombs of Period III: Forum necropolis, tomb GG; Esquiline, tomb CX. Contracted Impasto in tombs of Period IV: Marino, Vigna Meluzzi, tomb II. For the Roman material this statement is based upon oral information from Prof. Gjerstad.

³² For the absolute chronology I refer to E. GJERSTAD's forthcoming paper *Discussions Concerning Early Rome*, 2, where it will be demonstrated with support of material from tombs in Etruria and on Ischia that the transition from Period II to Period III should be dated around 700 B.C., and that, when it comes to the dating of the preceding two periods, we have only got the aid of the three Greek Late Geometric skyphoi which have been found in two of the Pre-Hellenic tombs of Cumae (tomb 3 of the end of Period I and tomb 29 of Period II) and show that these periods belong to the VIIIth century B.C.

Sculptures in the Throne-Holst Collection

OLOF VESSBERG

The earliest items in Mr. Henning Throne-Holst's collection of antiques at Djursholm were acquired as long ago as the 1930's, but most of it has been built up since 1953. The collection consists of sculptures and vases, covering with representative works significant periods in the art history of classical antiquity, although quantitatively it is not very large. In accordance with the collector's clearly defined personal line the collection is to comprise nothing of inferior standard, but is to consist of a carefully chosen selection of first-class works. I will now present, with the owner's kind permission, a number of the sculptures in the collection, beginning with the beautiful head of Heracles illustrated in fig. 1.

The head, which is 31 cm. high, is of white fine-crystalline marble, probably Italic. It is broken off straight across the neck. It is well preserved and only slightly damaged (in the frontal hair, on the tip of the nose and the right ear). The surface shows many traces of plant roots. The head was purchased in 1953 from an art-dealer in Stockholm, but he had acquired it in Rome.

It is a powerfully built head with projecting chin and knobby brow. The robust yet classically severe features of the face are framed by

locks of hair and a beard. This head, once part of a statue, was turned to the right (seen from the viewer) and bent slightly forwards.

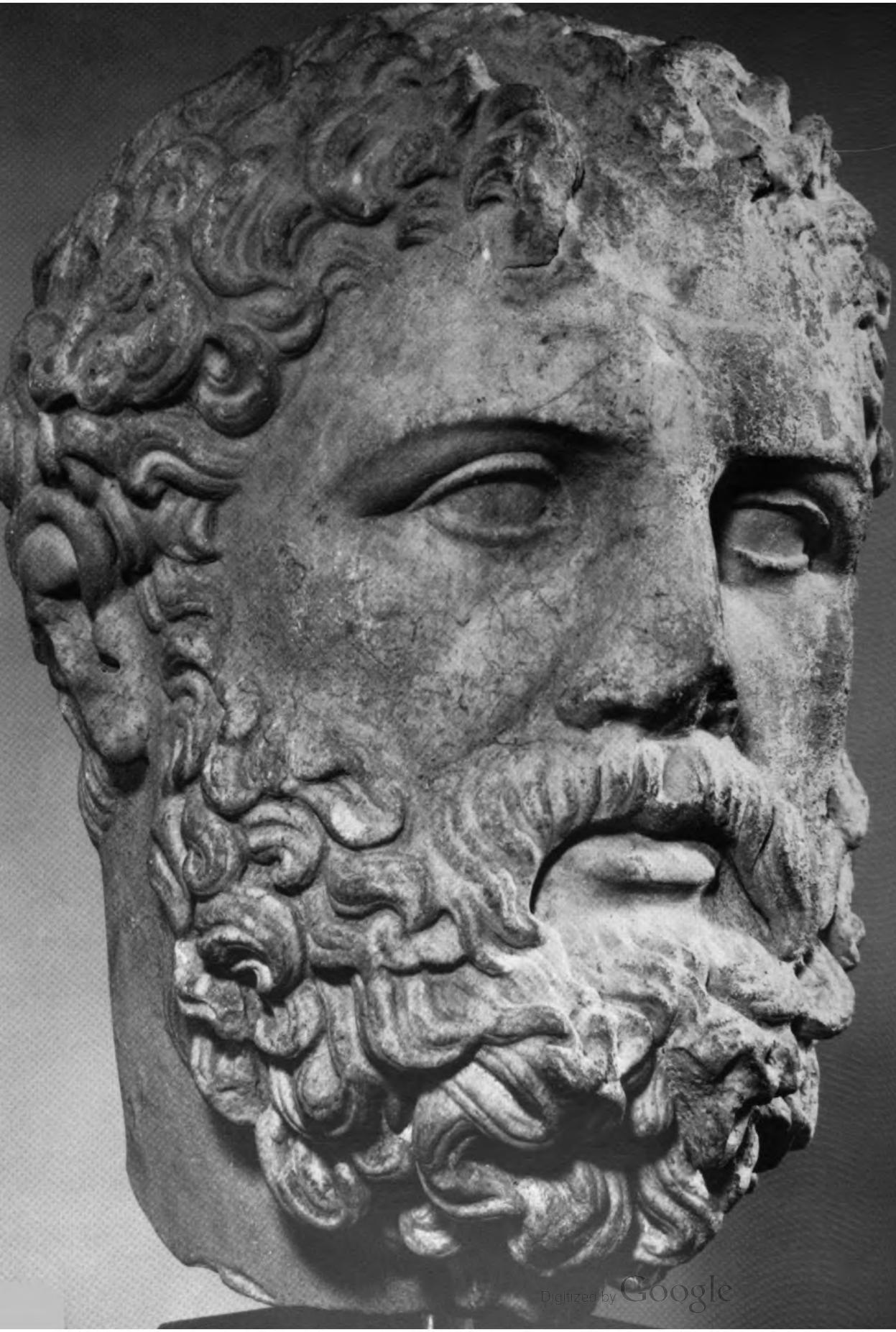
There cannot be much doubt that we have before us here a representation of Heracles, and at first I was inclined to identify this type with the Farnese Heracles ascribed to Lysippos. Later, Vagn Poulsen recognized in our head a replica of a Heracles type in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen¹.

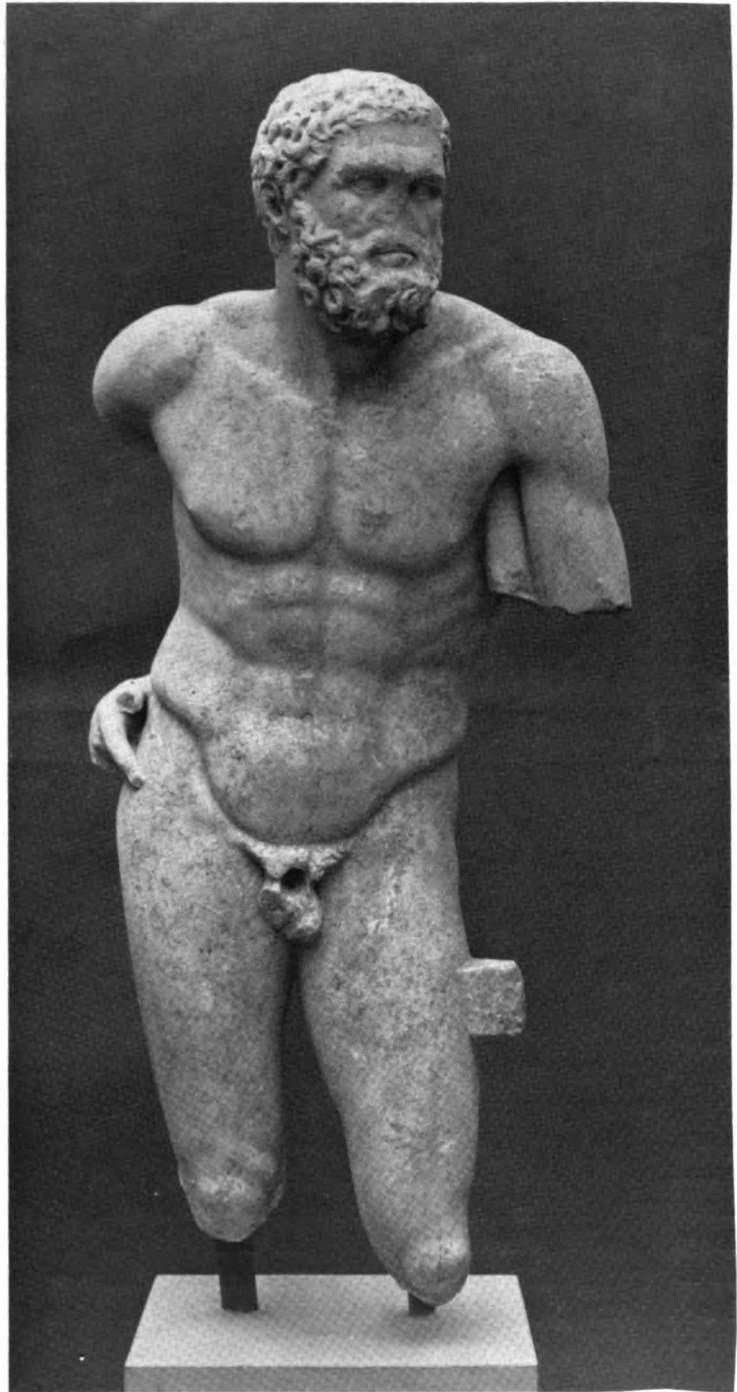
This Heracles type (fig. 2), which is a precursor of the Farnese Heracles and exists in several replicas², portrays Heracles leaning on his club which he has tucked into his left armpit, while his right hand rests on his hip. Despite some differences this is, broadly speaking, the same attitude as in the Farnese Heracles, but the form language is more limited and the body still bound by Polyclethan tradition.

A comparison of the heads in Copenhagen and in Stockholm leaves no doubt that they are replicas of the same original. There is agree-

¹ FREDERIK POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 250, Billedtavler Pl. XVIII. VAGN POULSEN, *Acta Arch.* XV, 1944, pp. 63 ff. I am indebted to Dr. V. Poulsen for permission to publish the photograph reproduced as fig. 2.

² V. POULSEN, *o.c.*, p. 76. Cf. FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON, *Lysippos*, pp. 200 f.





Figs. 1–2. Heracles. Head in the Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm, and statue in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

ment feature by feature: note the shape of the brow, the ductus of the eyes and eyebrows, the firm lower lip, the hair and the beard, practically lock by lock.

The Heracles statue in the Glyptotek is certainly a preliminary stage of the Farnese Heracles type, but it can hardly be listed among the works done by Lysippos himself. It is especially the treatment of the body that precludes this. Poulsen dates the Copenhagen type to the first half of the fourth century B.C. and is inclined to place it quite early in this period. The head in Throne-Holst's collection is an excellent copy from the time of the Roman Empire of the same original as the Copenhagen replica. Judging from the classicistically perfect, perhaps somewhat dry treatment of the marble, the copy was made during the first half of the second century A.D.

The Satyr with the boy Dionysos (figs. 3–4) is a comprehensive group with much life and charm, even though owing to its rather hasty execution it does not satisfy the same demands for artistic quality as the other sculptures in the collection which are here described. It is, however, of so much greater art-historical interest as it represents and supplements a well-known Hellenistic motif. It is executed in Italic marble with all body-surfaces highly polished. The maximum height of the whole group (including the flat stand) is 67.5 cm., the height of the Satyr (without the stand) being 54.5 cm. The group was bought in 1960 when in the possession of M. Barsanti in Rome after having previously belonged to A. Barsanti in Milan, who had acquired it in 1942. Earlier the group belonged to the collection of the Palazzo Corsini di Lungarno in Florence³. Signor M. Barsanti has told me that the group aroused the great

interest of Ludwig Curtius and G. E. Rizzo and on Curtius' initiative was photographed for the German Institute in Rome. By courtesy of the Institute I am reproducing here two of these excellent photographs.

The young Satyr is taking a step forward and grasping with his left hand the wrist of the infant Dionysos. He is turning his joyful face up to the god, who is sitting astride his shoulders. Dionysos (fig. 4), naked like the Satyr, is sitting in a lively equestrian pose and holding in his right hand above his head a cornucopia, of which only the tip is preserved. In his left hand he holds a bunch of grapes. His feet and the ends of his legs are broken off as also the Satyr's forearm. His broad, girlish face with large globed eyes and a big well-shaped mouth with thick lips is surrounded by a thick swell of hair, and around his locks is twined an ivy spray. His hair is worked with plentiful use of the drill, as also in the case of the Satyr's locks. On the back of the head of the Dionysos figure there is a roughly carved knot of hair executed on the surface like vertical bands. The piece between the knot and the back has not been cut away but serves as a support for the head.

In the background beside the Satyr stands a small figure of Pan, hardly reaching up to the Satyr's hip. He has shaggy goat's legs and horns and tangled hair and beard, and he is looking up at Dionysos. In his right hand he holds a syrinx; in his left hand, which is broken off together with the forearm, he once held a pedom, part of which still survives. With his left cloven hoof he is just stepping on to the lid of a cylinder-shaped basket or chest, the *cista mystica*. The chest has two mouldings at the bottom and two at the top. From under its slightly open lid a broad-headed serpent is creeping out.

A tree-trunk is carved as a support for the Satyr and the figure of Pan, and is joined to both. On the trunk hangs a syrinx much larger in size than the one held by Pan. It has besides

³ H. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien II*, p. 218, n. 292. I was able to identify our group as a work earlier belonging to the collection in the Palazzo Corsini from a photograph reproduced in an article by A. MINTO, *Satiro con Bacco fanciullo, Ausonia*, Anno VIII, 1913 (1915), pp. 90 ff.



Fig. 3. Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

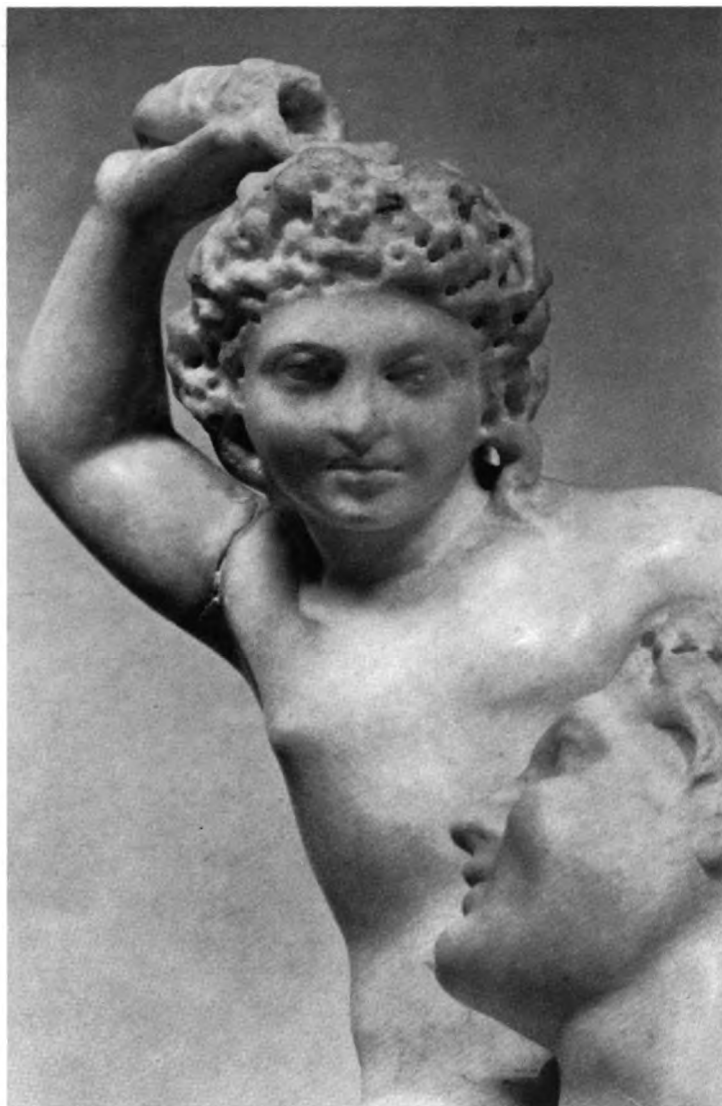


Fig. 4. Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Detail. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

six tubes, while Pan's has only five. The tree-trunk is cleft at the base so that it resembles the roots of old olive trees rising from the ground.

Beside the cista mystica rides a small, rather clumsily wrought Eros on a panther. Half the head of Eros is knocked off. In his left hand he is carrying a basket of fruits, probably meant to be grapes, and with his right hand he is grasping the panther's head.

The high polish and the extensive drilling

show that this group belongs to the second half of the second century A.D. at the earliest. It is, however, very probable that the group is a third century piece. The drilling work with thinly dispersed but deep holes corresponds strikingly to the technique of the sarcophagus sculpture of the third century A.D.⁴, and one observes that the infant Dionysos very much resembles the young Christ of the sarcophagi.

⁴ Cf. e.g. G. WILPERT, *I sarcofagi Christiani antichi*, Tav. VII:2, XXVII:1, LXXXI.

Such details as the eyes of Dionysos with the bored almost hemispherical pupil close below the eyelid, and further the deep drill holes in the corners of the eyes of the Satyr speak in favour of a dating to the third century A.D. The authenticity of the group should be beyond all doubt. Incrustations of plant roots are visible in several places, for instance on the flat stand, on Pan's back, the Satyr's left foot, Dionysos' back and right thigh. Dionysos' right arm and a piece of the Satyr's right forearm are attached but they are original.

It is, however, quite certain that the original did not belong to this time. The work is a Hellenistic spiral composition, which in a graceful rising movement culminates in the infant Dionysos' head and right hand with the cornucopia. It is a composition from the Late Hellenistic Age, where we find it in many famous works, such as the Hellenistic ruler in the Museo delle Terme or Aphrodite of Melos. Although new figures were readily added to Hellenistic groups during the Roman Empire period — we may think of the so-called Farnese bull in the museum in Naples — I do not believe that Pan and Eros with the panther are a subsequent addition of that kind. They are essential for the balance of the group, as may well be seen by looking at it from the back. In fact, the Late Hellenistic Age also loved compositions abounding in figures. There is, for instance, the group already mentioned by Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles, which even in its original conception was rich in figures, or a group (referred to in the literature) in Pompey's theatre with motifs from Tralles which had more than twenty figures⁵ and which was also clearly a work of the Late Hellenistic school of sculpture in that city. Maybe the group with the Satyr and Dionysos preserves the composition of the original and, as I have already indicated, it is of decisive importance for the reconstruction of a group

representing a satyr with the infant Dionysos that exists in five replicas⁶. Of these I am illustrating here the replica in the Vatican (fig. 5). None of the replicas have preserved Diony-

⁶ The replicas are as follows: 1. The Vatican, Galleria dei candelabri, G. LIPPOLD, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Bd III:2, pp. 262 f. 2. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Guida Ruesch, pp. 78 f., n. 253. 3. Rome, Villa Albani, EA 3543/44. 4. Bologna, Museo Archeologico, MINTO, o.c., p. 94, Fig. 4. 5. Florence, Museo Archeologico, MINTO, o.c., pp. 91 f., Tav. IV.

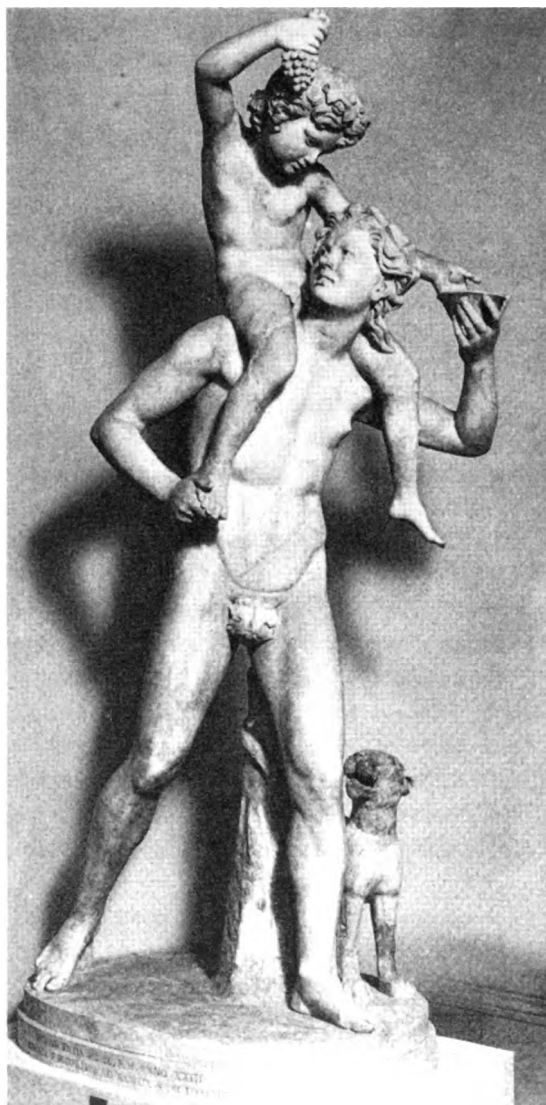


Fig. 5. *Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Marble. The Vatican, Galleria dei candelabri.*

⁵ Plinius nat. hist. 7.34.

sos' head, and Lippold therefore notes in the Vatican catalogue that it is impossible to decide whether the satyr is carrying Dionysos or an infant satyr. But even earlier A. Minto had used our group, then in the Palazzo Corsini, for a reconstruction of the group in an article in *Ausonia*⁷. He considered our group, however, to be a Renaissance copy of a lost classical prototype.

The criteria that I have used for dating the group have already been dealt with above, and I believe that they are reliable. The question of the time of the original — both Minto and Lippold regard it as an Early Hellenistic work — I hope to be able to take up again in another context.

Of great interest is a fragment of a head under life-size of the so-called Menander type. As will be seen from the illustrations (figs. 6–8) half the head is missing and nothing remains of the neck. The fragment is 17.5 cm. high. It is executed in a white marble with few but quite large crystals. This is probably Italic, although it might conceivably be marble from the Greek islands. The head was acquired from an art dealer in Rome in 1959.

This head, despite its insignificant size, is sculptured with great vigour and intensity, and it is undoubtedly one of the best replicas of the "Menander portrait". The modelling of the eye with engraved iris and hemispherically drilled pupil close beneath the lid and the drilling work in the hair clearly indicate its time — the second half of the second century A.D. This late dating of a replica of the famous portrait makes the fragment particularly valuable.

It is possible that the head is from a relief, although there is no detail on the fragment to indicate this. But the size of the head may to some extent support a theory of that kind.

With this new replica before us — probably the forty-third in succession — it may be of

interest, not only for the present writer, to take a quick look at the state of the identification question and the progress of the discussion so far. For more than four decades the identification of the so-called Menander portrait has been an archaeological bone of contention that is really rather disagreeable, because it gives an impression of an uncertainty in our datings of ancient sculpture which must seem shocking but which is fortunately not the general rule.

The contest began in earnest in 1918 when Franz Studniczka tried to show in his article *Das Bildnis Menanders*⁸ that the portrait in question represents the Greek comedy-writer Menander, who died in 291 B.C. This was an opinion long held by the well-known German art-archaeologist; he had both spoken and written about it as early as the 1890's and now he was publishing a more detailed argumentation. He took as his starting-point the inscription material, which was not particularly copious but which included the base of a statue found in the Dionysos theatre in Athens bearing the inscription *MENANDPOΣ* and the information that Kephisodotos and Timarchos were the artists. These may conceivably be identical with Praxiteles' famous sons, who were contemporaries of Menander, and Studniczka has good grounds for assuming that the statue was set up during the last few years of Menander's life or possibly shortly after his death. Thus a statue dating from the two hundred and nineties B.C. once stood on this extant base, and it is with this missing work that Studniczka connects the famous portrait with the many replicas, which must represent a poet, because one of the replicas wears an ivy wreath.

His grounds for this identification, however,

⁸ *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, Bd 41, 1918, pp. 1 ff. Cf. J. J. BERNOULLI, *Griechische Ikonographie* II, pp. 111 ff. GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Greek Portraits*, Coll. Latomus, Vol. XX, pp 38 ff.

⁷ MINTO, *o.c.*, pp. 96 f., Fig. 5.

were undoubtedly weak. They were mainly as follows:

1. Two *imagines clipeatae*, shields with portrait busts, whose inscriptions indicate that the portraits are of Menander. These ought, of course, to be of decisive importance but one of them, in any case, is worthless in this connection. It is now missing but once belonged to the Roman iconographer Fulvio Orsini, who published it in his book *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium* of 1570. Orsini, or Fulvius Ursinus, as he calls himself there, was librarian and antiquary to the Farnese family in Rome, a position like Winckelmann's in the Villa Albani. This portrait shield, which only exists as a drawing in the 1570 book and in a later edition brought out by Ursinus—Gallaeus in 1598–1607, is totally irrelevant to the problem. The two editions show quite a different portrait, and neither bears even a remote resemblance to our portrait. I believe that today all my colleagues in this field — whatever their attitude with regard to the naming question — would agree with that. The other portrait shield is more interesting. It is in an English collection, at Marbury Hall in Cheshire. It is an extremely dull and expressionless work of late antiquity, probably from the third century, but one must admit that Studniczka and his followers are right to the extent that there does exist a vague and very general resemblance to the famous portrait. This resemblance, however, is mainly restricted to the beardlessness of both and in some measure to the arrangement of the hair over the forehead. But bearing in mind the fact well known to every iconographer that an ancient portrait in an inferior reproduction can be changed almost beyond recognition, we may say that the Marbury Hall portrait does not raise any real obstacles to an identification of our portrait as a portrait of Menander, if such an identification were supported by other evidence. But there, unfortunately, matters leave much to be desired.

2. The portrait occurs in two types of double herm, in the one case collocated with a bearded Greek philosopher's head of a type earlier named Apollonius of Tyana but now usually considered to be a portrait of Homer. There are strong grounds for thinking that it may possibly represent Hesiod. This double herm exists in two or perhaps three authentic replicas⁹. In the other case the portrait is joined in a double herm to the equally famous so-called Pseudo-Seneca, who next after the so-called Menander has the distinction of being preserved in a large number of replicas — at present thirty-two I should think. Unfortunately, the identification also of these portraits is still an unsolved problem¹⁰. It certainly represents a poet, because one of the replicas is adorned with an ivy wreath, and on stylistic grounds the original is likely to have been made about 200 B.C. We cannot say more about this portrait unfortunately, all attempts at identification still being only more or less well-founded conjectures. We must therefore assert that the double herms cannot provide any clue to the determination of our portrait. Studniczka, who only knew the double herm with the Pseudo-Seneca, which he — no doubt correctly — regarded as the portrait of a Hellenic poet, merely came to the conclusion from the double herm that our portrait must also represent a Hellenic writer, because he is found to be joined with one. But this is certainly a completely erroneous assumption — there is indeed at least one instance of a Roman and a Greek being joined in a double herm where the identification is assured owing to the inscription¹¹.

⁹ Cf. BIANCA MARIA FELLETTI MAJ, Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti, pp. 20 ff., N. 21.

¹⁰ Cf. B. STRANDMAN, The Pseudo-Seneca Problem, Konsthistorisk tidskrift XIX, 1950, pp. 53 ff. All the replicas are here noted down, and different possibilities of identification are discussed.

¹¹ The double herm of Socrates and Seneca in Berlin, J. J. BERNOULLI, Römische Ikonographie I, pp. 278 f., Taf. XXIV.

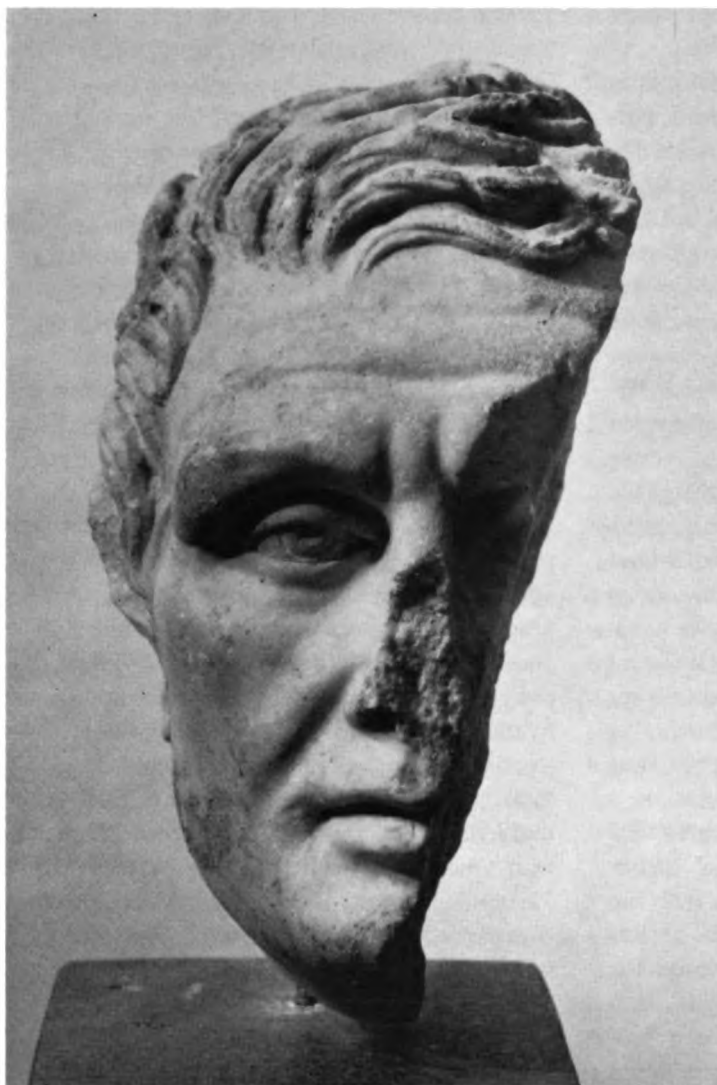


Fig. 6. Fragment of head of the so-called Menander type. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection. Djursholm.

But apart from this, the antithesis or the collocation of Roman and Greek in pairs was a popular motif in Roman art. We need only refer to Plutarch's famous *vitae parallelae*, in which in fact famous Romans and Greeks are juxtaposed to form a kind of literary double herm.

3. Studniczka was of the opinion that the portrait belonged stylistically to the beginning of the third century and he looked for stylistic

parallels in Lysippos' Apoxyomenos, Agias and the portrait of Alexander and also in Polyuktos' statue of Demosthenes dating from 280. It is true that the portrait has Lysippan features, not least of the Alexander portrait. But on the other hand, it is a very personal and individualized portrait, difficult to imagine during such an early epoch.

No one is likely to deny that these were amazingly weak arguments advanced by Stud-

niczka in support of his Menander designation, and nothing new has emerged since 1918 to support it.

In the very same year in which Studniczka finally published his theory, opposition raised its head in the shape of an article by Georg Lippold¹², who associated himself with the doubt earlier expressed by Adolf Furtwängler, who wanted to identify the so-called Menander as a Roman poet. Lippold guessed that it was Virgil and his views were followed up and further expanded in an article by J. F. Crome¹³. Crome's arguments were mainly as follows: He judged the portrait on stylistic grounds to be

¹² Röm. Mitt. XXXIII, 1918, pp. 1 ff.
¹³ Reale Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova, Atti e Memorie, Nuova Serie Vol. XXIV, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

a portrait of a Roman from the end of the Republic. In view of the large number of replicas – when Crome wrote there were thirty-eight of them – it must represent one of the most famous of the Roman poets. Lastly, it is collocated in a double herm with the so-called Apollonius of Tyana, which Crome – in common with perhaps the majority of investigators – considered to be a portrait of Homer. No Roman poet was better fitted than the writer of the Aeneid to form the Latin counterpart of Homer.

There are, as we see, large meshes also in this net. The discrepancy as regards the dating is naturally alarmingly great, and one wonders how such a divergence can be possible. But the so-called Menander portrait belongs to a tradi-



Fig. 7. The "Menander" head. Djursholm.



Fig. 8. The "Menander" head. Djursholm.

tion line in Hellenistic portrait art, which begins with the Alexander portrait by Lysippos and ends with the large group of Hellenistic portraits of Romans from the last century before the Christian era. The portraits of the Diadochi belong to this line, the portrait of Cicero too. This is a portrait art distinguished by ideality and strong feeling in personal interpretation and by an often magnificent and effective style. This trend is, on the whole, quite uniform throughout the Hellenistic Age, and it is not surprising that works belonging to it may be difficult to date. But although this line in the portrait art of the Hellenistic period has a fairly homogeneous character, it is not entirely uninfluenced by the changes in the interpretation of art and of persons, and even in those portraits which might justifiably be called ideal portraits the development tends towards psychological insight and individualization. From that point of view the portrait, as we have mentioned, is scarcely thinkable at the beginning of the third century but much more likely during the second half of the third century, a dating that has been suggested by L. Laurenzi¹⁴ and V. Poulsen¹⁵. Hence Poulsen has wished to identify our unknown writer with the court poet Kallimachos of Alexandria, an attractive suggestion in many respects, but one that does not accord really well with the altogether unique popularity of our portrait during the whole time of the Roman Empire. I soon found when working with the Roman portraits from the end of the Republic that the so-called Menander portrait is readily believable as a work from that time¹⁶. We can cite many good stylistic parallels among private portraits during this time¹⁷ and also have reason, like Rhys

Carpenter, to consider the Hellenistic portrait of Augustus or rather Octavian, preserved in coin-types from the thirties¹⁸. It is a representation of Octavian as omnipotent ruler, created in accordance with the tradition of the Alexander and Diadochi portraits. There is a strong resemblance in style between this coin-type and the so-called Menander, and we may note that the treatment of the hair is the same. What could be more natural than that the representation of Virgil, the Augustan court poet and national bard, should follow the style of the Octavian portrait? The combination in a double herm with Apollonius of Tyana, irrespective of whether this portrait represents Homer or Hesiod, is also, as B. M. Felletti Maj has pointed out¹⁹, a powerful argument in support of the Virgil hypothesis.

I therefore still feel great sympathy for this idea, although I am fully aware that it has not been proved. A more thorough examination than has hitherto been made of all the replicas in an attempt to date the time of each replica would be of value. Perhaps they all belong to the time of the Roman Empire. The abundance of replicas cannot be due to chance but must be connected with the importance of the person portrayed. One thinks in this connection of the dominant influence exerted by Virgil on Roman educational life. This was primarily due to the schools, where he was studied already at the elementary stage and provided material for exercises in grammar and metrics. Study continued in the higher classes and his importance was great in the schools of rhetoric²⁰. Even Augustinus declares how living he still was in the minds of all educated people²¹. In schools, gymnasia and libraries his likeness was often

¹⁴ *Ritratti Greci*, pp. 139 ff.

¹⁵ *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift 1951*, pp. 67 ff.

¹⁶ *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, p. 215.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. the replica in Korfu, Fig. 9, with the head in Delos, C. MICHALOWSKI, *Les portraits hellénistiques*, Pl. XXI, or a head in the Museo Nazionale Romano, FELLETTI MAJ, *I Ritratti*, 44. Cf. further

R. HERBIG, *Zum Menander-Vergil Problem*, *Röm. Mitt.* LIX, 1944–46, pp. 77 ff.

¹⁸ A contribution to the Vergil-Menander controversy, *Hesperia* XX, 1951, pp. 34 ff.

¹⁹ FELLETTI MAJ, *o.c.*, p. 21.

²⁰ SCHANZ-HOSIUS, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II, pp. 98 ff.

²¹ *Civ. dei* I, 13.

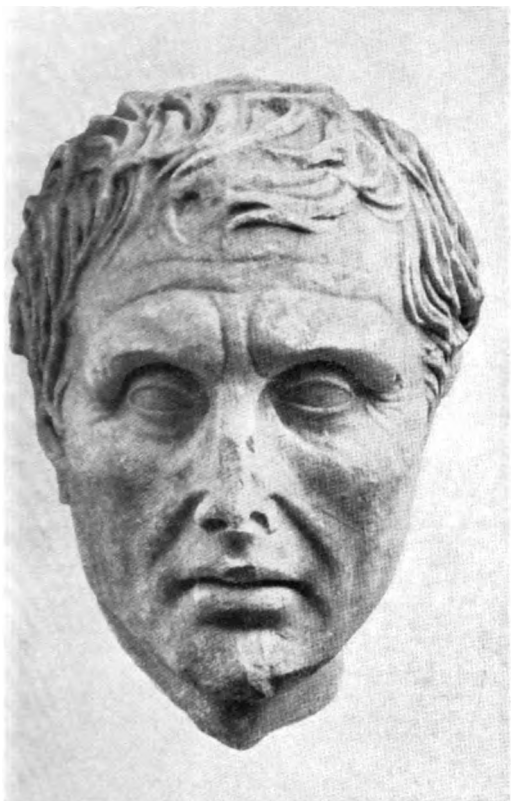


Fig. 9. "Menander". Marble. Museum of Corfu.

to be seen²², and indeed nothing would be more natural than to find that his portrait in particular has been preserved in an unusually large number of replicas. The new replica in Throne-Holst's collection to some extent supports the Virgil theory because it is so late. Menander, it is true, was popular throughout classical antiquity but owing to his language was not as highly valued by the Atticistic purists of the second century²³. It is also rather uncommon for a Greek poet's or philosopher's portrait from late classical or Hellenistic times to be supplemented in a copy from the time of the Roman Empire by the drilling and engraving of pupil

and iris. In a copy of a Roman portrait from the early Empire period an addition of that kind would seem more natural.

Now if the so-called Menander really is Virgil, then the portrait in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek recently named Virgil by Vagn Poulsen cannot represent the same poet²⁴. It is a portrait in four replicas, one of which is combined in a double herm with the so-called Pseudo-Seneca. But for the identification of this interesting portrait from the end of the Republic, to which Poulsen has drawn attention, there are of course other possibilities, too. Suetonius' characterization of Virgil's appearance, that he had a countrified look, fits in to some extent with the Copenhagen portrait. But on the other hand, it is improbable that a sculptor would have stressed such a feature when he was creating the likeness of the national bard.

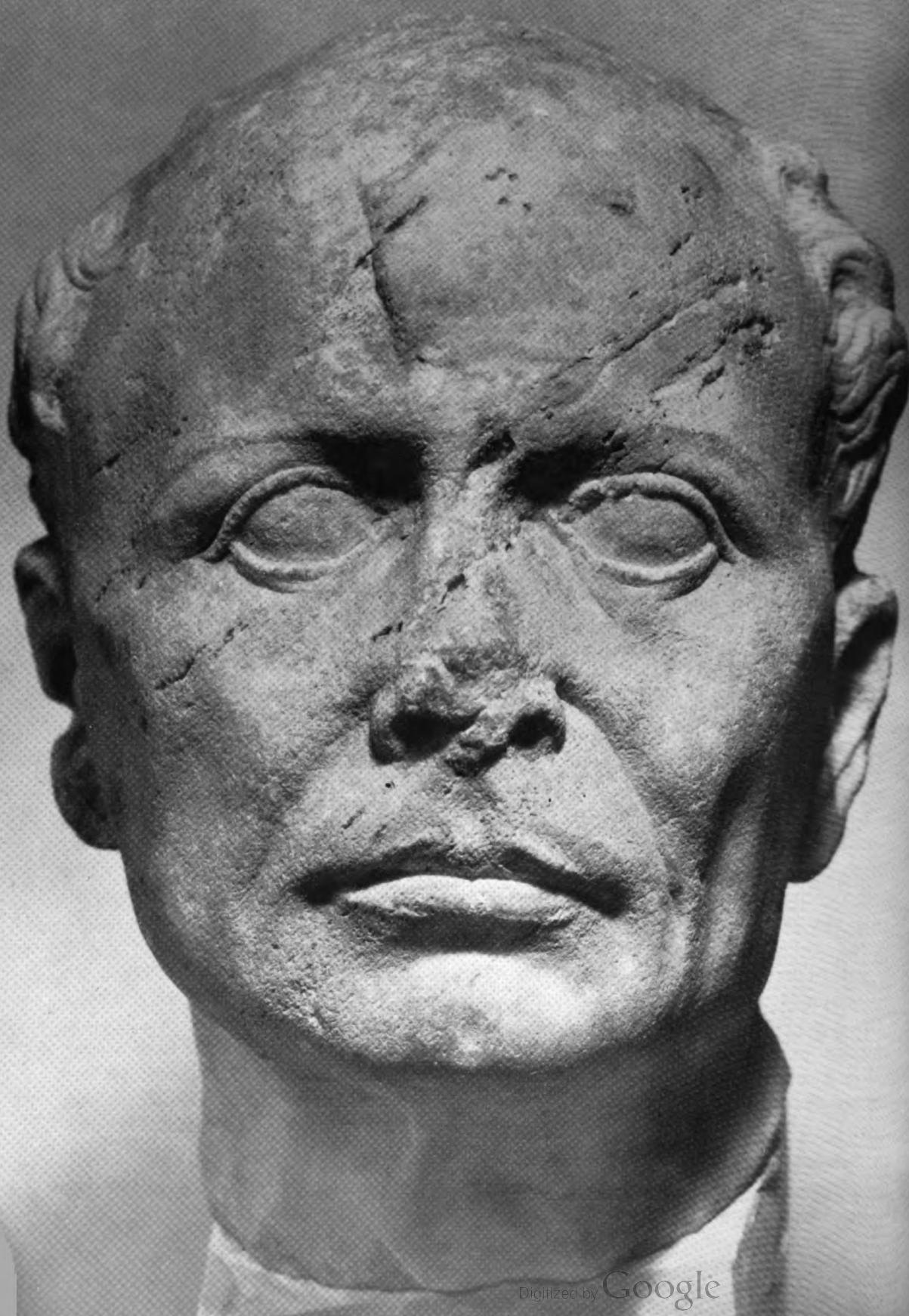
It is quite natural for us to pass on from the "Menander portrait" to one of the Roman portraits in the collection, the one shown in figs. 10–11. It is still full of living Hellenism and yet definitely belongs to a Roman milieu. It is one of the first acquisitions in the collection and was bought in 1937 from the Norwegian painter L. O. Ravensberg, who obtained it in Rome.

This work is a head in natural size. Its height is 22.5 cm., the total height of the piece including the neck being 26.3 cm. It is executed in marble, which is white with very small crystals and has a light yellowish brown patina. The surface looks as though it were pitted with small corrosion holes in places, especially on the nose and brow and in the hair, which is hardly a natural condition for marble. On the left side of the crown of the head a lump has been corroded away or knocked off and there the marble seems flaky. The material has the character of marble closely related to lime-

²² Cf. Suetonius, Gaius Caligula 34, Iuvenalis sat. VII, 225 ff.

²³ W. SCHMID, Wilhelm von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (6. Aufl.), pp. 45 f.

²⁴ Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1958, pp. 1 ff.



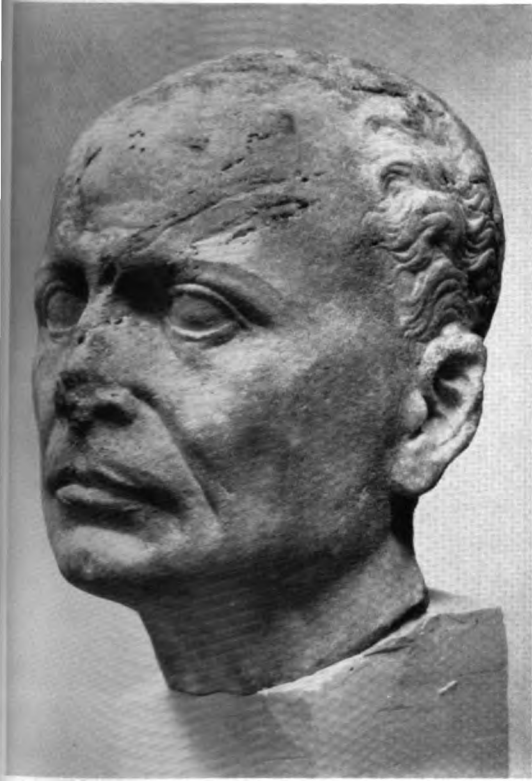


Fig. 11. The head shown in Fig. 10.

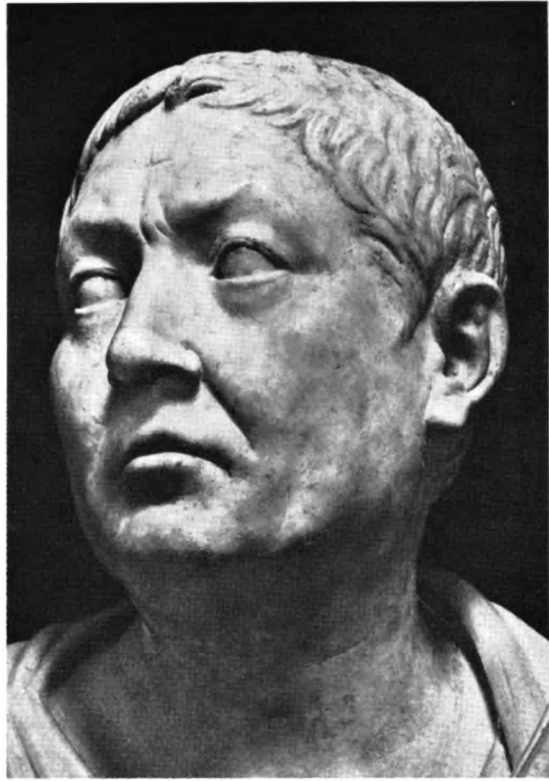


Fig. 12. Roman portrait. Marble. Museo Nazionale, Naples.

stone of, for instance, travertine type. The tip of the nose is fractured and the neck broken off – with a cut surface – at the base. A broken part at the back of the neck has a raised edge, indicating that there was originally a drapery here, probably of a toga.

The back of the head is only coarsely carved with very slight hair marking. The crown is bald, framed by the curved, thick locks of hair at the temples. A few sparse locks at the back of the crown are combed forwards. Deep furrows in the cheeks frame the protruding mouth. The neck is quite scraggy, with pronounced tendons and Adam's apple.

The decisive effect, when confronted with this head, is its gentleness and melancholy, the

sensitive form language which finds expression particularly in the almost femininely soft and well-shaped mouth. But it is also clear and simple in structure, with a sculptural purity and strength that puts it among works in the strong Hellenistic tradition of the final phase of the Republic. It has nothing of the exaggerated illusionism characterizing the Flavian portrait, which also suggests itself perhaps when one at a first glance attempts to discover the time of this head.

There are many closely related works in the Hellenistic group of Roman portraits from the last century B.C., both in the east and in the purely Roman milieu. A portrait in the British Museum from Rhodes²⁵ is an example

Fig. 10. Roman portrait. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

²⁵ A. H. SMITH, *Catalogue of Sculpture III*, 1965. R. HINKS, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, p. 15. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 214, Taf. LI:2.



Fig. 13. Roman portrait. Marble. *The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*



Fig. 14. The head shown in Fig. 13.



Fig. 15. Tombstone with busts of *Pinarius Lanteros and Myrsine.* Marble. *Museo delle Terme, Rome.*

from the east with the same sensitive, living surface and the same gentle contrast between the hair and the skin of the face. Among the Roman portraits of special note are a well-known portrait in Naples²⁶ (fig. 12) with a replica in the Louvre, one of the "great unidentified" who have been given different names, a head in the Lateran which A. Giuliano, interestingly enough, has compared with the Menander portrait²⁷, and a head in the Vatican²⁸. A particularly striking parallel is a head in the Lateran²⁹ that once formed part of a historical relief from the middle of the last century B.C. Here there is agreement feature by feature: the treatment of the hair, the shape of the forehead and eyebrows, the drawing of the eye, and the soft drooping mouth. It should be pointed out that our head also has a connection with the Roman-realistic line in the portrait art of the end of the Republic³⁰. The lean stringy throat particularly recalls portraits in this group, where it is often a strongly accented feature, not least in the portraits of Caesar from the middle of the century. Our portrait is also likely to belong to this time, c. 50 B.C.

It is interesting to compare our Hellenized Roman with the prosaic workaday type exemplified by the head in figs. 13–14. There is not much idealism or sentiment in these slightly trivial but surely sculptured features. This is a head in Italic marble with a yellow patina, broken right across the neck. The total height of the piece is 26 cm. The tip of the nose is fractured, but otherwise, as we see from the picture, the head is well preserved.

²⁶ Guida Ruesch, 1101. A. HEKLER, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, 148a. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 212 f., Taf. L.

²⁷ A. GIULIANO, *Catalogo dei ritratti Romani del Museo Profano Lateranense*, 6, Tavv. 5–6.

²⁸ G. KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Nr. 591, Taf. 95. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 223, Taf. 60.

²⁹ A. J. B. WACE, *P.B.S. III*, 1905, p. 287, Pl. XXX, Fig. 3. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 190, Taf. XXXII:1.

³⁰ Cf. e.g. VESSBERG, *Studien*, Taf. LXI.

Again we have before us a "Republican" but of the soberly matter-of-fact Roman type. The only very roughly sketched hair, the well-defined protruding mouth and the shrivelled neck with its strongly marked tendons are characteristic features of this portrait, which has very close parallels particularly on the tomb reliefs from the end of the Republic. I will compare it especially with the portrait of Pinarius Lanterus on a relief in the Museo delle Terme³¹ (fig. 15). It shows a startling resemblance to our head in both physiognomy and style. They are so much alike that we have every reason to assume that they are works of the same artist or workshop. Consequently, the head also goes with two other tomb reliefs which I have earlier put together with the above-mentioned relief in the Museo delle Terme to form a group, namely a relief in the Villa Colonna with portraits of Manlia Rufa and Manlius Stephanus³² and another relief in the Museo delle Terme, previously located in the Villa Mattei, with busts of one man and two women³³. All these reliefs certainly come from the same workshop. The male portraits on these reliefs are distinguished by rigidity and firmness of structure, and they exhibit the physiognomical affinity which throughout the centuries characterizes portraits from the same epoch. They are from the time of transition to the Empire period, the relief bearing the portrait of Pinarius Lanterus, which corresponds so remarkably well with the head we are now considering, having earlier been dated by me to c. 30 B. C.

The large bronze head in figs. 16–20 is undoubtedly one of the most noteworthy acquisitions in Throne-Holst's collection. It was purchased in 1957 in Lucerne at a sale of objects from Jacob Hirsch's collection.

³¹ VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 199, Taf. XXXVIII:3.

³² VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 198 ff., Taf. XXXVIII:1.

³³ F. W. GOETHERT, *Zur Kunst der röm. Republik*, p. 49. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 198 f., Taf. XXXVIII:2.



The head, which is broken off at the upper part of the neck, is of colossal size. Its height is 44 cm., the maximum width *en face* being 32 cm. and in profile 36.5 cm. The thickness of the sheet-bronze is 0.8–1.0 cm. on the forehead, 0.4–0.8 cm. at the neck and 0.4–1.0 cm. in the hair. Most of the top of the head is missing. There is a crack about 20 cm. long on the left side of the head, behind the ear. There are also cracks and small holes in the whiskers on the left side of the head and a crack about 10 cm. long on the right side of the back of the head. The hair and beard on the right side are flattened, evidently as the result of a blow, and the nose has been bent by a blow, too. The left side of the face is slightly worn or weathered, evidently by the action of water. There are numerous incrustations in the hair. But as a whole this magnificent head is well preserved in all its splendour, which is specially brought out by the gilding, most of which remains. The gilding is particularly well preserved in the hair, notably on the right side of the back of the head, and also on the forehead, eyes, cheeks nearest the nose, moustache, lips and chin-beard.

The eyes have engraved irises and the pupils are executed as oval depressions.

According to information supplied by Herr Paul Viktor Suppan of Vienna, to whose family the head belonged before it was acquired by Dr. Jacob Hirsch, it was found in the Tiber in Rome about 1770–1790 and was at first owned by the Cardinal Schönborn who was attached to the court of Ferdinand IV in Naples.

The colossal size indicates that it is the portrait of an Emperor, and there is no doubt that it bears the features of Antoninus Pius, although when first weighing the possibilities one might also think of Hadrian or Septimius Severus. But the small tufts or small curls of

hair, the bulging forehead and the very strong chin are essential traits in the image of Antoninus Pius that are not found in the others; the mild, sagacious and what might be described as commonplace look is also extremely characteristic. The portraits of Antoninus Pius have prominent thick front hair with two groups of locks particularly marked³⁴. These may be given a highly significant form, almost like a crayfish's claw³⁵, as for instance in a portrait in the Museo Nazionale in Naples or the portrait in the Sala a Croce Greca in the Vatican. But in our portrait the locks are modelled throughout as thick, entirely distinct "spiral rolls", and this also applies to the frontal hair. This treatment of the hair is characteristic of a group of late Antoninus portraits which M. Wegner has brought together and which in their style are closely linked to the portraits of Marcus Aurelius³⁶, particularly the portraits of the 160's, to which the equestrian statue on the Capitol probably also belongs. There the type of hair has changed completely to small distinct spiral locks, a type of hair treatment wholly foreign to Hadrian's time and not found either in the early portraits of Antoninus Pius. If we look at the coin-types we can see that the "spiral lock hair" first appears in the youthful effigies of Marcus Aurelius on Antoninus Pius' coins³⁷. In the portraits of Antoninus Pius which may reliably be dated to early coin-series, it does not however occur, but we find a tendency to a similar treatment of the hair in later coin-series, those issued after 145³⁸.

It should be noted that the hair in small curls, the "spiral lock hair", is also present in

³⁴ M. WEGNER, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, p. 25, Taf. 4b.

³⁵ WEGNER, *o.c.*, p. 22, Taf. 4a.

³⁶ WEGNER, *o.c.*, pp. 24 ff.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* IV, Pl. 3, 17–20, aurei and denarii of 139 A.D.

³⁸ Cf. e.g. MATTINGLY, *o.c.* IV, Pl. 40:1–2, 41:1, 42:10, 45:2.

Fig. 16. Portrait of Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

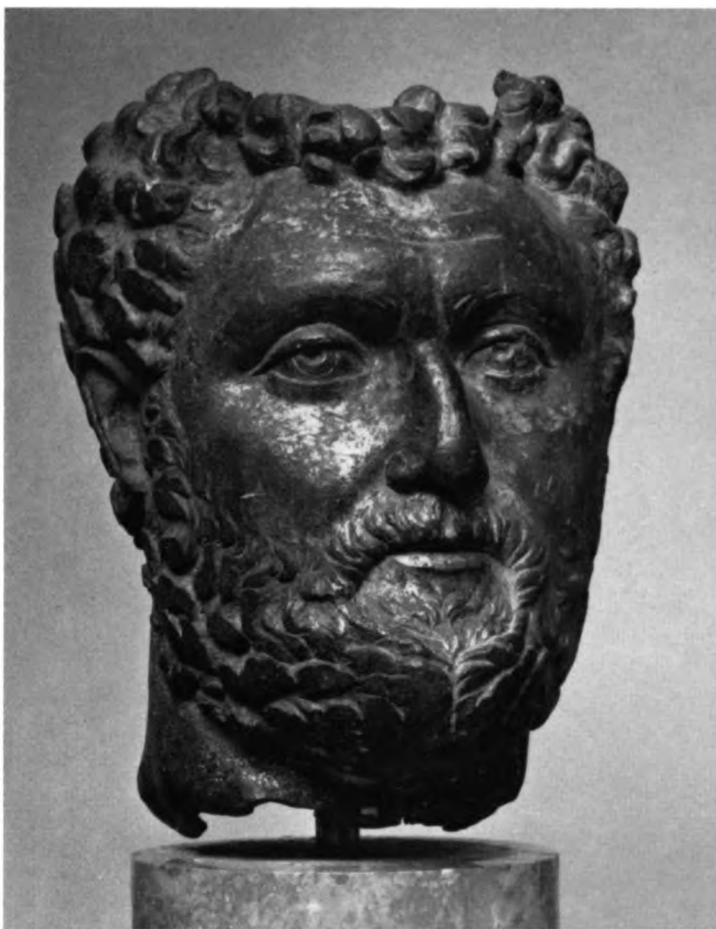


Fig. 17. Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

the portraits of Septimius Severus. We can perhaps say that our bronze head has a certain general resemblance to the portraits of Severus. But the differences are fundamental and conspicuous if we compare the coin-types³⁹. The head of Septimius Severus is short and robust, that of Antoninus Pius long. The hair of the former has a bushier and more untidy form, also the beard, which in the case of Septimius Severus is divided into long tongues or tufts. If we compare with portraits of Severus sculptured in the round, the admirable bronze statue

in Nicosia for instance⁴⁰, we can see among other things that Septimius Severus has a weaker, narrower chin. His look also reveals an entirely different person. It is a little squinting and unsure, contrasting strongly with Antoninus Pius' steady, sagacious look.

We can therefore identify our bronze head with absolute certainty as a portrait of Antoninus Pius. In his treatment of the iconography of this Emperor, M. Wegner has divided the portraits of Antoninus into three chronologically distinct groups, where the treatment

³⁹ Cf. regarding the Severus portraits on coins MATTINGLY, *o.c.* V, Pl. 5 ff.

⁴⁰ P. DIKAIOS, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, p. 111. S.C.E. IV:3, Pl. XXII.



Figs. 18—20. Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.



of the hair was the determining factor⁴¹. Our bronze head comes nearest to the third of these groups, a group of late portraits in which the hair is entirely moulded as a "Lockenrollenwerk" without tongues or loose tufts. This is a hair style which bridges over to the time of Marcus Aurelius and which in itself shows that the group is late and belongs to the last years of Antoninus Pius' reign or may possibly be posthumous. But, in addition, the portraits exhibit certain marked features of old age. This applies to some extent also to our bronze head. The furrows of the brow are more than usually accentuated and the face has something of the calm and resignation of an old man.

The colossal size most probably indicates that the head was part of a statue, although of course a bust is also a possibility. The coins have preserved various statuary representations of Antoninus Pius. He is portrayed in armour with a lance in his hand⁴², sacrificing in the toga and with covered head⁴³, in the toga with the terrestrial globe in his hand⁴⁴, and on horseback⁴⁵. He is represented as *divus* enthroned with a sceptre in his left hand and a spray in his right⁴⁶, and we also have on the coins a picture of the column surmounted by a statue which Marcus Aurelius erected to the memory of his predecessor⁴⁷. He is there depicted holding a sceptre and presumably *togatus*. Among these representations we look for a statuary motif in which the slight turn to the right would be particularly well justified. It is so especially in one, the *allocutio* motif. The raised right arm in oratorical pose makes a slight orientation of the head to the right quite natural. Among the statuary motifs that have been mentioned on the coins there is only one showing the

Emperor with the *allocutio* gesture and that is the equestrian statue. The statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol exhibits the same slight inclination to the right as our bronze head, an inclination motivated by the oratorical gesture with the right arm.

The statue of Marcus Aurelius and our head come very close to each other in style, too, and there is a marked resemblance in the facture of the heads⁴⁸. We should note especially the identical treatment of the hair in the form of "bosses", divided by one or two furrows or grooves. Strikingly similar is the moulding of the eyebrows, which are done in relief, and the moustache. The eyebrows also have the same arched undulating line. The rich plastic inflections of the surface with contrasting light and shade are repeated in both, although more moderately in the Antoninus Pius portrait, which is more influenced by an older tradition. It seems probable to me that these two works come from the same workshop and they cannot be far distant from each other in time. An assumption of this kind is supported by the individual datings. We have found that the Antoninus Pius portrait was made during the last years of the Emperor's reign or possibly after his death. The equestrian statue on the Capitol belongs without doubt to the earlier years of Marcus Aurelius' reign and has been dated by Wegner to the period between 164 and 166⁴⁹.

Whether the head of Antoninus Pius was part of an equestrian statue or an ordinary statue cannot be determined with certainty. In the latter case it may have been a statue in armour, a statue in a toga or perhaps most likely of all a heroizing statue in the nude with

⁴¹ Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit, pp. 21 ff.

⁴² MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 6:17-18.

⁴³ MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 13:10-11.

⁴⁴ MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 16:19.

⁴⁵ MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 16:6, 46:1.

⁴⁶ MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 54:16.

⁴⁷ MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 54:17.

⁴⁸ Cf. K. KLUGE-K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, Die antiken Grossbronzen III, Taf. XII. WEGNER, o.c., Taf. 23.

⁴⁹ WEGNER, o.c., p. 42.

Fig. 21. Roman portrait bust. 3rd cent. A.D. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.



Fig. 22. Portrait of Claudius Gothicus. Medallion. 1.4:1. Vienna.



Fig. 23. Portrait of Carinus. Medallion. 2:1. Bale.

mantle drapery as in the bronze statue with the head of Septimius Severus in Brussels⁵⁰. Where in Rome the statue of Antoninus Pius was erected, when gleaming with gold it was completed about 160, is also uncertain. But the place of its finding in the Tiber permits a guess that it stood — in fact like the above-mentioned statue in Brussels — in Hadrian's mausoleum, where Antoninus Pius' tomb was also placed. Perhaps the head found its way into the Tiber already in the time of Justinian on the occasion when the Goths under Vitiges laid siege to Rome in 537 and stormed the *moles Hadriani*. Then the besieged defended themselves by hurling statues down onto the enemy.

The male bust in fig. 21 is a most impressive representative of its epoch in the collection — both through its martial accessories and its gravity and tense expression. It is a portrait

of a middle-aged man with lean features and intense gaze, close-cut hair and beard and a coarse protruding mouth with thick lips. The bust is clad in armour with paludamentum, which is fastened with a button, decorated with a rosette, on the right shoulder. The breast part is hollowed out at the back and has a sculptured support. The material is marble, white with a yellow patina. It is rich in very small crystals and is likely to be of Italic origin. The total height of the bust is 64 cm., the height of the head being 25 cm. It was bought in 1958 from a Swiss art-dealer.

Here we have before us one of the third century generals, the paludamentum showing that he is a military commander. There is severity and something of impatience and nervous tension in his features that admirably illustrates the hectic pulse of the century. The hair encloses the skull like a calotte and is modelled in finely chiselled "strands". At the back of the head it is more sketchily done, but it is nevertheless arranged with a distinct middle-parting. The pupils in the large eyes,

⁵⁰ KLUGE—LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, o.c. III, Taf. XXX.

ershadowed by powerful eyebrows, are drilled an-shaped. The fashion of the hair and beard, the lean features and the strong realism bring to mind particularly one of the third century's Imperial effigies on coins, namely the portrait of Claudius Gothicus (fig. 22)⁵¹. The characteristic, thick, bushy beard on the cheeks and under the chin is still more marked on the

coin-types of Carinus (fig. 23)⁵². This is a fashion in beards largely inherited from Gallienic times and characterizing many portraits from post-Gallienic times⁵³. In consideration of the Emperor effigies here compared, of which the portrait of Claudius in particular seems to be the type-forming ruler portrait in this case, the bust should be dated to 265–285 A.D.

⁵¹ B. M. FELLETTI MAJ, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino*, iv. XLIX:169. Here reproduced as fig. 22.

⁵² FELLETTI MAJ, o.c., Tav. LVII:201. Here reproduced as fig. 23.

⁵³ H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, pp. 35 f.

Photo:

O. Ekberg, pp. 56, 58, 59 (Fig. 18).

J. Felbermeyer, pp. 43–44 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut,
Rom, Neg. 42.59, 42.70).

N. Lagergren, pp. 6–35, 48–49, 54 (Figs. 13–14),
59 (Figs. 19–20).

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, p. 41.

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